



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

AH 221Z 0

HARVARD DEPOSITORY
BRITTLE BOOK

RETAIN BOOK COPY

John Peterson M.D.

Q

Patterson

יהוה

INSTITVTIO THEOLOGICA
ANDOVER FVNDATA MDCCCXII

The Gift
of
S. W. Eggleston.



ΑΚΡΟΤΟΥ

ΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ



John Paterson M. Genl.

GENERAL PATERSON

FROM THE MONMOUTH BATTLE MONUMENT AT FREEHOLD, NEW JERSEY

Frontispiece

1917

PATERSON

1917

1917

1917

1917

1917

1917

Journal of Management Studies, 19(6), 701-718.

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN PATERSON

MAJOR-GENERAL
IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

~~BY~~

With the Compliments of G. W. Eggleston.

ILLUSTRATED

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK

27 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET

LONDON

24 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND

The Knickerbocker Press

1898

C

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN PATERSON

MAJOR-GENERAL
IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

BY
HIS GREAT-GRANDSON

THOMAS EGLESTON, LL.D.
EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF MINERALOGY AND METALLURGY IN THE SCHOOL OF MINES OF
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK. OFFICER OF THE LEGION
OF HONOR OF FRANCE.

ILLUSTRATED

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK LONDON
27 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET 24 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND

The Knickerbocker Press

1898

C

ackn? }

The Gift
of
G. W. Eggleston.

COPYRIGHT, 1894
BY
THOMAS EGLESTON

COPYRIGHT, 1898
BY
THOMAS EGLESTON



The Knickerbocker Press, New York

4 J. S. J.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The discovery of over one hundred letters to and from General Paterson, more than half of which had never before been in print, in the correspondence of various generals of the Revolutionary War, notably of Generals Heath and Knox, and the finding of a large number of other interesting facts and documents, seem fully to have justified the second edition of his life. It is hoped that these additions may be of interest and that some of them may help to make plainer some of the difficult passages in the Revolutionary War. The defenses of the Hudson River and the efforts of both sides to obtain and retain possession of it, and General Paterson's part in its defense, are especially interesting. Six illustrations have been added to those of the former edition.

In preparing this edition I am especially indebted to Professor H. P. Johnson for the discovery of the letters of Generals Heath and Knox, and also to many other persons, especially in Massachusetts, who have taken the trouble to search through the records of the various antiquarian and historical societies of that State. For the searches relating to General Paterson's landed property, I am indebted to Mr. R. C. Rockwell, of Pittsfield, Mass.

THOMAS EGLESTON.

New York, July, 1898.

PREFACE.

AS far back as I can recollect, the exploits of General Paterson, associated with those of my grandfather, were the subject of constant stories from my father to all his children, which we were never tired of hearing. We wanted the stories repeated over and over again, and sometimes would not be content without hearing them three or four times in succession. Before graduating at Yale College in 1854 I wished to know more about these two men, and was surprised to find so very few records of their services and to ascertain that they had been almost forgotten in Berkshire County, Mass., where they both had lived. I wished then to resuscitate their memories, but the battle of life which had commenced made it necessary for me to attend to other things. On returning to this country on a visit in 1857 I made a search in Lenox, the result of which was finding considerable records of my grandfather but only a very few of General Paterson.*

In 1875, being called upon to furnish the details relating to both of them necessary for the speech of Judge Rockwell at the Centennial in Lenox on the 4th of July of 1876, I was astonished when all that was known was put together to find how meager that knowledge was. I at once made up my mind to follow out what clues I had, and to write out what information I could then obtain, but it made only a few pages of manuscript. Some years later I endeavored to have the remains of General Paterson and his wife removed to Lenox, which resulted, however, at that time, in failure to obtain the consent of the heirs.

* A notice of Major Egleston was published by the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, vol. xxiii, July, 1892.

In the year 1886 I put up in Trinity Church in Lenox, Mass., tablets to the memory of General Paterson and Major Egles-ton. After they were up and a great deal of public interest had been shown in them, I commenced a series of systematic searches in the libraries of New York, Albany, Hartford, Worcester, and Boston, with a determination to honor the memory of my two grandfathers in a more conspicuous way, with a satisfactory result. I also determined to make another effort to have the remains of General Paterson removed to Lenox, which was finally successful.

When the work was begun I had no other idea than of writing a short biographical sketch of General Paterson, but with the inquiry which became necessary, on account of the loss of his papers by the burning of his house in 1809, the subject has expanded into a book. All that was known of General Paterson at the time these searches were commenced is contained in the brief sketch of him made in Judge Rockwell's Centennial address at Lenox in the year 1876. He had become one of Massachusetts' lost heroes.* This will sufficiently account for the fragmentary character of the information that it has been possible to obtain.†

If his papers had not been burned much more would have been found; but while the long and laborious search has resulted in finding comparatively little, much of this has never before been published, and is valuable not only as throwing light upon the character of the man, but also as illustrating the peculiarities of the times in which he bore so prominent a part while he was both advocating and defending the liberties of this country. His efforts to build up the State of Massachusetts, and especially his own county of Berkshire and the

* In July, 1890, Mr. W. H. Lee, of New York, published a paper in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* on the life of General Paterson.

† In March, 1892, I distributed among the committees and persons who were to take part in the ceremonies of the unveiling of the monument a pamphlet of seventy pages on the life of General Paterson. Copies of it were also given at that time to the representatives of the Press. All of these were recalled in October of that year.

town of Lenox, have also been pointed out. The whole book shows very clearly the high character that he always maintained in the three States in which he lived.

I have to acknowledge the courtesy of the librarians of the various libraries where the searches have been made, and of the custodian of the Massachusetts State Archives in the State House in Boston, for allowing me access to the books and manuscripts under their charge; and also of a number of collectors of autographs in permitting me to take copies of their papers. I am especially indebted to Professor Johnston of the College of the City of New York, who has not only given me a large amount of information, but has advised and assisted me in every way in making the searches that were necessary, and has aided me in the revision of part of the proof. I am also indebted for the active interest of the committee appointed by the town of Lenox, for the success of the celebration at the unveiling of the monument, and to many others who have assisted me in endeavoring to do honor to the memory of this Revolutionary patriot and hero.

THOMAS EGLESTON.

SCHOOL OF MINES, COLUMBIA COLLEGE,
New York, May 1, 1894.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY, 1704-1774.

	PAGE
Major John Paterson.—Removal to Lenox.—The Lords of Trade.—Proposal for a Congress.—The Stamp Act.—The Troops in Boston.—The Boston Tea Party.—English View of the Tea Party.—The Colonial Charter.—The Boston Port Bill.—The Continental Congress.—The "Solemn League and Covenant"	1-34

CHAPTER II.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES AND THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, 1774-1775.

The First Provincial Congress.—The Second Provincial Congress.—The Battle of Lexington.—The Capture of Ticonderoga.—The Provincial Congresses.—The Battle of Bunker Hill	35-60
--	-------

CHAPTER III.

SIEGE OF BOSTON TO THE BATTLE OF TRENTON, 1775-1776.

Petitions to the Provincial Court.—Petitions to the King.—Siege of Boston.—Canada Campaign.—Declaration of Independence.—March from Canada	61-96
--	-------

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE BATTLE OF TRENTON TO VALLEY FORGE, 1776-1778.

Battle of Princeton.—A Standing Army.—Ticonderoga.—British Plan of Campaign.—Evacuation of Ticonderoga.—Burgoyne's Advance.—The Battles of Saratoga.—Surrender of Burgoyne.—Results of the Campaign	97-143
---	--------

CHAPTER V.

VALLEY FORGE AND MONMOUTH, 1778

The English become Conciliatory.—Valley Forge.—The Review at Valley Forge.—Plans for the Spring Campaign.—Evacuation of Philadelphia.—Battle of Monmouth	PAGE 144-171
--	-----------------

CHAPTER VI.

THE HATED HIGHLANDS, 1778-1783.

The Highlands.—Naval Maneuvers.—The Highlands.—Sufferings of the Army.—Treason of Arnold.—Dark Days.—Tardy Payment of the Soldiers.—Starting for Yorktown.—Birth of the Dauphin.—Petition to Congress.—Duties at West Point.—Command of West Point.—Close of the War.—Cost of the War.....	172-307
--	---------

CHAPTER VII.

PEACE, 1783-1785.

Grippy.—The Cincinnati.—The Lenox Court-House.—Small-pox.—Interests in Maine.—Lord Paramount of Maine	308-329
---	---------

CHAPTER VIII.

SHAYS' REBELLION, 1786-1787.

General Discontent.—The State Debt.—Sympathy with the Rioters.—Conventions.—Grievances of the Farmers.—County Conventions.—The Lenox Convention.—Stopping the Courts at Great Barrington.—Stoppage of the Courts at Springfield.—Action of the General Court.—Stoppage of the Courts at Springfield.—Orders of General Lincoln.—The Attack on Springfield.—Action of the General Court.—The Insurrection in Berkshire County.—General Paterson's Letter.—Amnesty Offered the Rebels.—The Rebellion in Berkshire.—Close of the Rebellion.—Pardoning the Rebels.—Causes of the Rebellion	330-382
--	---------

CHAPTER IX.

THE PURSUITS OF PEACE, 1787-1808.

Religious Intolerance.—The Intermission.—The Village Choir.—Muste-Day.—The Boston Purchase.—General Paterson in Congress.—General Paterson's Children.—General Paterson's Services.—Character of General Paterson.....	383-408
--	---------

APPENDIX.

	PAGE
A. The Paterson Families	409
B. Will of Major Paterson.....	410
C. Bond of Major Paterson as Paymaster	411
D. Part of the Subscription List to Build the Lenox Court-House, 413	
E. Appointment of Massachusetts Major-Generals	414
F. Defense of General Paterson.....	414
G. Revolutionary Diary of General Paterson	415
H. Ceremonies of the Unveiling of the Paterson Monument in Lenox.....	419
I. List of Books Consulted	448
J. The Paterson Genealogy.....	450
K. Congressional Resolutions Relating to Coinage.....	452
L. Letters of General Washington and General Putnam in Rela- tion to the Ohio Scheme.....	454
Index.....	463
Genealogy of General Paterson's Family.....	<i>End of volume</i>

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
GENERAL PATERSON, FROM THE MONMOUTH BATTLE MONUMENT	
AT FREEHOLD, N. J. <i>Frontispiece</i>	
PLAN OF MAJOR PATERSON'S FARM IN FARMINGTON, CONN., AS	
IT WAS IN 1760	10
HOUSE IN WHICH MRS. PATERSON WAS BORN	11
BOSTON AND VICINITY. MAP NO. 1	57
PART OF THE AMERICAN LINES IN THE SEIGE OF BOSTON IN 1775.	
MAP NO. 2	58
SKIRMISH AT THE CEDARS. MAP NO. 3	87
PLAN OF TICONDEROGA. MAP NO. 4	92
BATTLE OF TRENTON. MAP NO. 5	99
BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON. MAP NO. 6	100
THE HUDSON RIVER AND THE HIGHLANDS. MAP NO. 7	127
FIRST BATTLE OF BEMIS HEIGHTS. MAP NO. 8	133
SECOND BATTLE OF BEMIS HEIGHTS. MAP NO. 9.	134
SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE. MAP NO. 10	136
ENCAMPMENT AT VALLEY FORGE	144
BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. MAP NO. 12	163
COUNCIL AT HOPEWELL BEFORE THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.	
MAP NO. 11.	167
PLAN OF WEST POINT. NO. 13	175
PLAN OF GENERAL PATERSON'S FARM IN LENOX, MASS.	312
GENERAL PATERSON'S HOUSE IN LENOX, MASS.	313
TABLET IN TRINITY CHURCH, LENOX, MASS.	399
THE PATERSON-EGLESTON MONUMENT, LENOX, MASS.	445

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN PATERSON.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY.

THE Patersons were some of the earliest settlers of Wethersfield, Connecticut. It appears on the records of that town that "Mr. James Paterson and Mrs. Mary Talcott were married on the thirtieth day of November Anno Domini 1704, by Mr. Stephen Mix, minster." She was the widow of Samuel Talcott, who died in Wethersfield, April 28, 1698, a cousin of Joseph Talcott, who was at a later period governor of the colony. They came from Dumfriesshire, where the family had been a prominent one for a considerable period. William Paterson, who was born in 1660, founded the Bank of England in 1692, and was a member of Parliament in 1708. He died in 1719.* In 1705 James Paterson was chosen "Lister" (Assessor) of the town of Wethersfield, and in 1707 he was chosen Townsman (Selectman).

1704-1708

Their son, John, was born on February 14, 1707-8,† and was

* It was this William Paterson who wrote nearly two hundred years ago: "If the maritime powers of Europe will not treat for Darien, the period is not far distant when America will seize the pass. Their next move will be to hold the Sandwich Islands. Stationed thus in the middle, and on the east and west sides of the New World, Americans will form the most potent and singular empire that has appeared, because it will consist not in the dominion of a part of the land of the globe, but in the dominion of the whole ocean. . . . Then England may be known only as Egypt is now."

† In the old records the dates are given as 1707-8, which, according to the present method of reckoning, means 1708. By the old system

1707-1750 baptized by Mr. Mix, of Wethersfield, on February 22, 1707-8, showing that he was still a member of the Wethersfield church. Mrs. Paterson died on September 28, 1712. Soon after his wife's death, James Paterson removed to the west part of the parish. Farmington was annexed to the Newington society in October, 1715. This union continued until 1754, when this part of Farmington was made a part of a new parish called New Britain. He was, therefore, a member of the Newington society between 1715 and 1754, but not before or after that period. On February 27, 1711, he signs, as executor, the inventory of an estate, which is valued at £232-10. He was a member of a committee "to order the prudentials of the society" of Newington on December 15, 1718, and in 1722 was one of "the Seating Committee," as they lived in the Stanley quarter, in Farmington, which was annexed to Newington during that period. John Paterson is mentioned frequently in the society records, and always with the title of Mr. His name first appears on the church books on December, 1728, when he was appointed one of the collectors "to gather the minister's rate and the society rate." In May, 1732, he with other inhabitants of Farmington petitioned to have a committee appointed "to lay out roads and highways to relieve the difficulty of going to public worship." His tombstone in Newington, where he always attended church, records that he died December 2, 1750, aged eighty-six years.*

His son, John, removed to Farmington and lived in that part of the town which is now known as New Britain, and was one of the three families who settled in the town.† He the year began on the 25th of March. All the records up to 1752 gave the date between January 1 and March 25 in this way, or else they ignore the new arrangement and call the year 1707 until March 25th.

* See Appendix A.

† There was another family of Patersons in the same neighborhood. William Paterson, with his brother Edward and sister Anna, came from Scotland to Wethersfield in 1740. He was a member of the Great Swamp Parish. William Paterson was a man of wealth. He married Sarah Dunham, and is believed to have introduced the manufacture of tinware into this part of Connecticut.

received a liberal education, and was a man of uncommon ability and refinement. On January 28, 1730-1, he married Ruth Bird, daughter of Joseph Bird, of Farmington, by whom he had four daughters and one son: 1731-1775

MARY, born December 5, 1731, at Farmington. She married John Pierce, of Litchfield, on April 18, 1751. They had six children, one son and five daughters, John Pierce, Jr., born 1752, Mary, born 1754, Anna, born 1758, Susan, born 1762, Ruth, born 1764, Sarah, born 1767.

John, Jr., married Anna Bard in 1772, and had three children. He entered the army May 31, 1775. On February 10, 1776, he was appointed Assistant Paymaster-General of the Continental Army. He had served in the Connecticut Colony troops in a similar capacity. He was promoted to be Deputy Paymaster-General on June 7, 1779, "to serve at the Headquarters of the army." On January 17, 1781, he was promoted to be Paymaster-General, with the rank of Colonel. He retained his position after the close of the war, and was made Commissioner, to settle the accounts of the army. He died in New York on Friday, August 1, 1788. He was thirteen years connected with the Paymaster's Department. He was a member of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, and was the thirty-fourth to sign the Connecticut roll. He was an able officer, and served his country with a fidelity and patriotism, in those days of peril and great financial stress, worthy of great admiration. Sarah, born in 1767, established a female academy in Litchfield, Connecticut, which was one of the most celebrated institutions in the country. She dissolved her connection with it in 1832. She died in Litchfield in 1852, aged 84 years.

SARAH, born July 13, 1734, at Farmington. She married James Lusk, of Farmington, on December 30, 1754. On October 19, 1775, they both owned the covenant.

1775-1778 After her death, he married, on October 12, 1775, Abigail Belden, daughter of the Rev. Joshua Belden, of Newington, who died in October, 1777. He afterward married Love Graham, daughter of Rev. Joshua Graham, of Sheffield. She died at Saratoga Springs, August 5, 1804. He enlisted in the Revolutionary Army on 26th July, 1776. He was appointed Sergeant in the Sixth Regiment, of Connecticut, and afterwards became Captain. He died at Enfield in 1804.

ANNE, born December 27, 1736, at Farmington, Woodstock. She was married to Rev. Stephen Holmes, of Connecticut, on January 24, 1754, by the Rev. John Smalley. She died near Stephentown, Rensselaer Co., New York, in 1812. Her father in his will gave her his negro servant, Rose, who was baptized in New Britain, November 9, 1758.

Stephen Holmes was born in Woodstock, Connecticut, on June 4, 1782, and died in Centrebrook, Connecticut, on September 13, 1773. He was a son of Deacon David Holmes. He graduated at Yale College in the class of 1752, and afterwards studied theology. In the last part of 1754, he was the first candidate for the newly organized society of New Britain, then a part of Farmington. He preached thirteen Sundays, receiving a compensation of ten dollars a Sunday. For some reason, which cannot now be ascertained, he was not made pastor of that church. A few months after this, he was a candidate at Turkey Hills, now East Granby, in the northeastern part of Simsbury. After this, he was again a candidate in Arford, near Woodstock, and in Ashford. On November 27, 1756, he was ordained pastor of the Second Church in Saybrook, in the village of Pautapaug, now Centrebrook, in the present town of Essex. He was not only the pastor, but the physician of his people. He was also interested in chemical studies. He died September 13, 1773.

He had six daughters, three of whom died unmarried 1739-1784 and are buried beside him at Essex. The three others married: one in Essex, and two near Stephentown, New York.*

RUTH, born June 16, 1739, at Farmington. She was married on April 7, 1774, by the Rev. I. Champion, of Litchfield, to Jedediah Strong, of Litchfield. She died October 3, 1777.

Jedediah Strong was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, November 7, 1738. He was the youngest son of Supply Strong and Abigail Bissel, his wife. His father was one of the first settlers of Litchfield, in 1723, and owned at that time a large part of the township. Jedediah graduated at Yale in 1760. He began the study of divinity, and was licensed to preach October 4, 1763, but abandoned theology for law, and in 1764 was admitted to the bar and settled in Litchfield. He paid more attention to politics than to his profession, and was for a long time a man of great influence. He was Selectman from 1770 to 1783, and Town Clerk from 1783 to 1789. He was elected to the legislature in 1771, and was regularly a member of it for thirty sessions, during some of which he was the Clerk of House. In May, 1774, the year of his marriage, he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and again in October, 1779, but declined. In 1774 and 1775 he was a member of the Committee of Inspection, and in 1775 he was Commissary of Supplies of the Revolutionary Army. In 1775, the legislature sent him to Albany to secure "all the arms belonging to this Colony, left there during the French War." He served in the Connecticut Congress from 1782 to 1784 with great credit and distinction. From 1780 to 1791 he was Judge of the County Court of Litchfield. From 1782 to 1784 he was delegate to

* *Biographical Sketches of Yale College*, vol. ii., p. 286.

1744-1756

Congress. In 1788 he was a member of the State Convention that ratified the State Constitution. He died in Litchfield on August 21, 1802. He had one daughter to whom he was devotedly attached. After the death of his wife, he married, in 1778, Susanna Wyllys.

JOHN, was born in 1744 in the parish of Newington in the then town of Farmington. He was baptized in the Newington church by the Rev. Simon Bachus, pastor of that church. He married Elizabeth Lee, of Farmington, on June 2, 1766.

On December 8, 1744, John Paterson was appointed in a meeting of the society of Newington parish upon a committee to obtain the money from Farmington. The two parishes were at that time entirely separate. On February 29, 1756, he was appointed on a committee to settle the details for the admission of the members of the northern part of the parish who had previously been excluded from the society. He was a very religious man. At the first meeting of "The New Britain Ecclesiastical Society," "warned according to ye direction of ye law," held June 13, 1754, Captain John Paterson was one of "the prudential committee." In May, 1735, a memorandum to the following effect is made in the minutes of the General Assembly of Connecticut assembled at Hartford: John Paterson and others have given bonds for large sums to this corporation for sundry other persons that were mortgagers in the late "New London Society" to answer for the interest of moneys borrowed by them, to draw in their respective parts of bills of the said society, and in May, 1749, he and others desire relief and ask for a committee to inquire into judgments on loans of the late "New London Society."

By an Act of the Assembly of Connecticut, passed January 21, 1756, it was ordered that the 400 Acadians who had been deported by the order of Governor Lawrence, and allotted to Connecticut, should be received by a committee of the Assembly and distributed throughout the fifty towns of the Colony,

instructing the committee to allot a specified number of them 1756 to each town. The selectmen of the town so designated were requested to receive from the committee the number assigned to each of them, "and with the advice of the civil authority in such town to take care of, manage, and support them as tho' they were inhabitants of such town according to the laws of this colony. And if said committee shall judge that any of said French people, by reason of age, sickness, etc., shall be unable to travel or cannot be conveyed from the town where they are or may be landed, that in such case said committee shall provide for and support such aged, sick, or otherwise infirm persons at the charge of the colony.

"And to prevent such French people making their escape out of this colony, it is resolved and enacted, that none of them be allowed to depart out of the respective towns where they belong without a writing under the hand of some of the civil authority of such town allowing of such departure. And if any of such French people shall be found in any other town than that in which they were ordered to dwell, without liberty in writing as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the civil authority where such persons shall be found to confine such persons until upon examination it can be known from what town they departed, and when known, to convey them back from constable to constable to the towns where they belong, there to be confined and not suffered any more to depart without liberty, as aforesaid. And said committee are hereby directed to take care in distributing said people that no one family of them be separated and sent into two or more towns."*

Nine of these Acadians were apportioned to the town of Wethersfield, and John Paterson was appointed by the town to look after them.

The condition of the Acadians has always excited a great deal of sympathy, part of which is deserved, on account of their misfortunes, and part of it is entirely imaginary. To

* *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, Act of June 21, 1756.

1747-1755 say that all these misfortunes came as the direct result of their want of loyalty to the English, who owned and governed the country, does not in any way diminish our sympathy for their misfortunes.

The French settled the lands bordering on the Gaspereau River in Acadia in the latter part of the seventeenth century. During all the wars between England and France for the possession of Canada, the Acadians always sided with the French. Even after France ceded Canada to England, the Acadians made continual raids with the Indians on the English settlers, both at home and on the main land. They did not recognize any treaty obligations. In order to stop these raids, in 1747, an English Colonel with two hundred and fifty men was sent to live amongst them. Incensed at this, six hundred French and Indians secretly collected and massacred the English officer and some of his men. It was to prevent such cowardly murders that the Acadians were punished. The English colonists did not feel themselves any longer safe; so the Governor of Halifax issued an order that, as the people did not respect the authorities or ordinary law, the whole population should be deported. The people were collected at Grand Pré and Piziquid, and in the middle of October, 1755, over one thousand Acadians were placed upon four vessels and most of them were carried to the far south and Louisiana, but many of them were scattered throughout the New England towns. Distributed in this way, they became harmless. As they were not of the same religion as the colonists, they were often regarded with suspicion, and, as they had nothing, were often in great distress. Poetry has called for and obtained much sympathy for these misguided people. They were not altogether the peaceful people they have been represented to have been. They were always ready for a raid with the Indians or on some unoffending settlement and abused the English leniency until their transgression became a crime. It was only by such heroic measures as were taken that the safety of the English colonists was assured.

He was the first deacon of the church in New Britain, soon after its incorporation. He appears to have been a considerable holder of real estate, to have owned some slaves,* and to have been a man of great refinement and of the highest probity and honor. In May, 1756, as agent for the parish of New Britain he sent in a memorial showing the state of all the unimproved lands in that township, and praying the Assembly to grant a tax of one penny on each unimproved acre. The directions of his will† required that his son should be carefully educated. His residence was still standing in 1863. 1756-1763

He had shown from boyhood a decided taste for military life, and had enlisted as a private in one of the train bands of Farmington, and was very soon selected for promotion. In May, 1738, he was commissioned as ensign in the 5th Company of the train band of Farmington. In October, 1741, he was commissioned lieutenant in the 2d Company of Kensington Parish. In May, 1746, he was commissioned second lieutenant of the 4th Company in the expedition against Canada. In October, 1752, he was made captain of the 13th Company of the 6th Regiment of foot. In March, 1755, and 1756, he was again made captain. In March, 1756, he was "appointed major of the 1st Regiment resolved to be raised by the colony to proceed on an expedition against Crown Point, and it is ordered that he be commissioned accordingly." He was at the same time captain of the 3d Company of the 3d Regiment. As this company was raised for that expedition, it was disbanded after it was over. He was again appointed captain in the 1st Regiment in 1759, 1760, 1761, and 1762. He assisted in the capture of Canada under Sir Jeffrey Amherst, and was with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham. There were many grades of military service in those days. It often happened that persons holding a higher rank in the train bands or in the service of the colony held a lower one in the king's service,

* His slaves when they died were buried on the high ground back of his house, where, in 1849, during the construction of the railroad, two graves were opened and one skull disinterred.

† See Appendix B.

1759-1761 as this service was always considered a much higher honor; and thus in March, 1759, it is recorded that "Major John Paterson is appointed captain." While doing duty as a military man he did not neglect civil duties. He was made justice of the peace and quorum* in 1756, and held the office until 1762. At some time he appears to have held a commission as colonel, for he is mentioned as Colonel John Paterson, but the date of that commission has not been found.

He had already shown such military ability, and been such a brilliant and efficient officer, that when the French and Indian War was threatened he was given a captain's commission in the British army of the colonies under General Wolfe, and served with great distinction both against the French and Indians.

From 1746 to 1762 he was in the service of the crown, and was distinguished for his personal bravery, his high sense of honor, and his skill in the command of men. He was one of the best and most loyal officers in the royal service and in maintaining its supremacy in the American provinces. He was equally prominent as a citizen, and held many civil offices and positions of trust. He was always, as his record shows, equally active and efficient in civil as he was in military affairs, and ready to offer his services to the State whenever they were required. The submission of Canada to England did not stop hostilities, and in 1761 a fleet under the command of Admiral Pocock, with an army composed of eighteen battalions of British and Provincial troops, was sent under the supreme command of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who was then Governor-General of the British possessions in America, to take Martinique and the other French islands in the Caribbean Sea, and as Spain and England were unfriendly at that period, it was proposed to take the Spanish West Indian Islands at the same time. The army was under the command of Lord Albemarle, who had under him eleven companies of the 1st Regi-

* This term was formerly used to designate certain justices of the peace, the presence of at least one of whom was necessary for the lawful transaction of business.

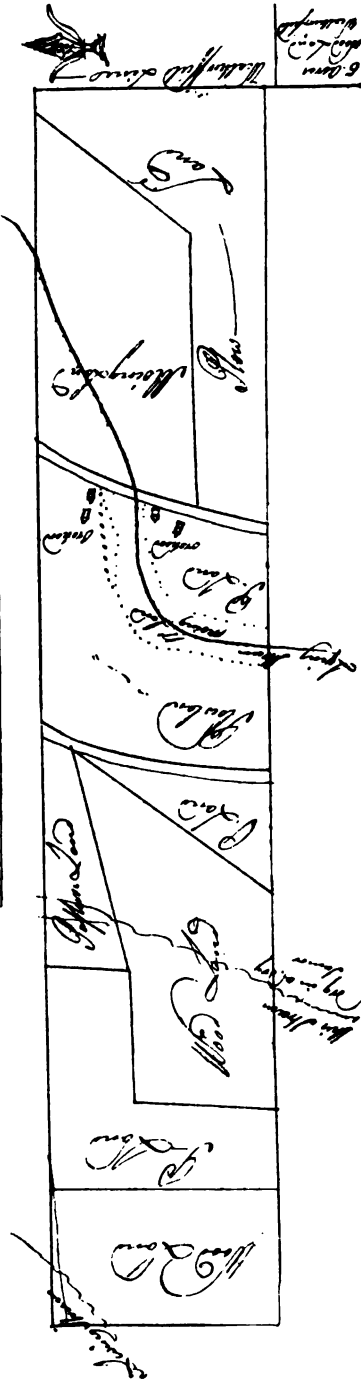
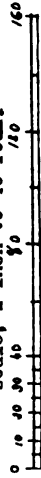
Plan of the Farm of

MAJOR JOHN PATERSON,

of Farmington, Conn., as it was in the year 1760.

The farm was 1 mile and 1/4 and 30 rods in length and 80 rods in width.

Scale, 1 inch to 40 rods.



ment, or 1000 men from Connecticut, 500 from New Jersey, 1762 and 300 from New York, under command of Major-General Lyman. It arrived off Havana on June 6, 1762, in 200 transports. John Paterson was ordered to this expedition as captain in the king's forces in command of a company of 100 picked men from Farmington and Wethersfield. He served in this campaign as paymaster.* He went, accompanied by his faithful negro London, who was his body-servant. They took Havana, but the climate was so fatal that not half of the men of his company ever returned. After serving his country and his king for twenty-four years Major Paterson fell a victim to the yellow fever, and died during the expedition, on the 5th of September, 1762, aged fifty-four, and thus ended the career of one of the most brilliant of the colonial military men. During the whole of his life there was little to disturb the relations between the mother-country and the colonies. The French and Indian wars kept both fully occupied. Connecticut had her charter, obtained by Lord Clarendon and granted by Charles II. in 1662. She had always elected her own governors, and had few of them. George II. only thought of hindering the development of the colonies for fear of their competing with England. George III. had not yet been on the throne two years, and was just commencing to devise how he might impose on the colonies, when this loyal and brave soldier fell.

JOHN, his son, and the subject of this sketch, was born in 1744 in Newington. He was fitted for college in his native town, and graduated at Yale College in 1762; † the year after, the order was given to issue "writs of assistance," which gave to the revenue officers of the lowest rank the right to enter any private house to search for smuggled goods, which aroused such indignation everywhere; and the same year that Governor Bernard ordered the Massachusetts Assembly to pay four hundred pounds which he had expended without their authority, and which they refused to do. On his gradu-

* See Appendix C.

† His father directed in his will that he should have a collegiate education. See Appendix B.

1762-1767 ation he returned to New Britain, to the home of his parents on the north end of East Street. A few weeks afterward he received the news of the death of his father at Havana, and at once decided to remain at home with his mother and youngest sister, Ruth. He was then just eighteen years of age, and as the only son the care of his father's family fell upon him. He gave some time to the settlement of his father's affairs and the duties of the estate, but soon carried out his purpose of studying law. While engaged in preparation for legal practice he taught school for several seasons. His neighbors were the Judds, the Lees, the Smiths, and Dr. Smalley, and in these families he found pleasant and congenial acquaintances. Oliver Ellsworth, LL.D., afterward chief-justice of the United States, and Nathaniel Emmons, D.D., an eminent theologian, were students with Dr. Smalley during this time. They were both a year younger than Paterson, but were among his intimate friends.*

He commenced the practice of law in New Britain, though still teaching in the public school a part of the year. Very soon after he commenced practice he was made justice of the peace. He was married by Dr. Smalley on June 2, 1766, to Elizabeth, only child of Josiah and Hannah (Warren) Lee, of Farmington, who was born in 1749. They "owned the covenant" January 25, 1767. She was an attractive lady, in all respects fitted to encourage the young lawyer and to be the wife of the future general and judge, who did so much for the early history of this country. She was in many respects a remarkable woman. Those times were well fitted to make heroines of the women as well as heroes of the men, and there were many of them. Mrs. Paterson was always at her husband's right hand, whether it was to roll cartridges for the soldiers, to help prepare uniforms to give them a suitable appearance, to encourage them to enlist for the defense of their rights, to receive his friends and entertain them, and to see that his household, whether he was a general, a representative of the State or the nation, or a judge on the bench,

* "History of New Britain," by D. N. Camp.



HOUSE IN FARMINGTON, CONN., IN WHICH MRS. PATERSON WAS BORN
BUILT PREVIOUS TO 1750, AS IT APPEARED IN 1892

was always well ordered. She outlived him many years, and 1767 died at the age of ninety-two, in the year 1841.

He soon became distinguished in his profession. They continued to live at his father's old homestead until 1774. Early in that year he removed to Lenox, Berkshire County, Mass., with his family, his father-in-law accompanying him.

There had up to this time been no cause for complaint in Connecticut. The people there were keenly alive to what was going on in Massachusetts, and waited eagerly for news of what was passing there. By the time that the news of the Boston tea party had reached Farmington he had made up his mind to remove to Lenox. It is not known what attracted him to the town. It may have been that among the people living there was a General Joseph Paterson, whose name appears on the town records of Lenox as early as January, 1765, or it may have been his desire to be on the frontier. He became at once identified with the interests of that town, and his abilities as a leader of men were soon recognized. Almost as soon as he arrived he was chosen Clerk of the Propriety.

On March 22, 1774, the following record appears in the book of the Lenox proprietors: "Voted and chosen Mr. John Paterson Clerk of said Propriety, whereupon the following oath was administered to him by Mr. Justin Brown: Whereas you, Mr. John Paterson, are chosen Clerk of the Proprietors of this district of Lenox, you do swear that you will enter all the votes, grant orders that shall be legally passed by said Proprietors, in the Book for that purpose, and in all things relating to your Office will act faithfully and impartially, according to your best will and judgment. So help you God." When the town was formed he was elected to represent it in the session of the Great and General Court to be held in May, 1774. He was made a selectman and assessor of the town, and was re-elected the following year.

The history of Lenox is a very short but interesting one. Berkshire was set off from Hampshire County by the General Court in May, 1761. On February 26, 1767, Governor Fran-

1767 cis Bernard signed a bill to incorporate the easterly part of the town of Richmond into a district called Lenox. It was not to be a town, and did not become so until later, as the towns were entitled to send representatives to the General Court, and the districts were not. Its first town meeting was held on March 11th. The two towns held joint meetings nearly a year longer. The proprietors of Lenox maintained an independent organization within the district of Lenox, so that for a time there are three records and for about seven years a double record of the town, that of the proprietors and of the district. These were generally merged into those of the district. Mr. John Paterson was the last Clerk of the Propriety. He was sworn in, but made no entry in the book.

The great majority of those who settled the county came from the Connecticut Valley in both Massachusetts and Connecticut, some from eastern Massachusetts, and a few from Rhode Island. They were a shrewd, hardy race, well educated for those days, accustomed to think for themselves, but having a great deference for authority, paying great respect to rank as well as official position. "Fear God and honor the king" applied not only to "his gracious Majesty" but to all his officials. They had a charter; they respected it; they demanded that it should be respected. When they had grievances, to them the proper manner to find redress was to carry the matters to the throne, and there they loyally carried them. It was only when they began fully to appreciate that remonstrances did not bring redress, but that encroachments were constantly made on their chartered rights, and when they saw them going little by little, that they commenced to realize that their charter might disappear altogether, and that they began to say among themselves, "The king hath two superiors: his Heavenly King and his own law;" the simple assertion of which truism showed how deep the discontent was. Notwithstanding this, they loved, as it was their religious duty to do, "the king and all the royal family," and they were proud to bear any office under the government of Great Britain; but there was a spirit of respect for independence of principle

which made criticisms of the conduct of the government not very dangerous to the "liberties of America," but a constant menace to their loyalty to the king. 1767

The history of the causes which produced the war of the Revolution is much more easily traced than those which have produced revolutions in other countries. It seems at first a little singular that a people proud of their origin and devotedly loyal to their sovereign should all at once refuse to recognize his authority and demand complete separation from the mother-country. The American Revolution may almost be said to be the struggle which put an end to the idea that the people were made for their rulers, which up to that time had been the prevailing idea of kings and nobles.

Since 1675 the government of the colonies had been in the hands of a committee of the privy council known as the Lords of Trade. They looked on the colonies very much as the noblemen of those days regarded their great landed estates, and on the colonists as the laborers who were working them for the greatest advantage of the mother-country. They therefore considered the resources of the colonies solely as a means of increasing the public revenue, and on themselves as the only authority for ordering how this was to be accomplished. It is only when the actions of this body are regarded in this light that they can be understood or explained. All the governors sent frequent and full reports of every detail relating to both public and private affairs to the Board of Trade. With the exception of Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they were hereditary, and Connecticut and Rhode Island, where they were elected by the people, the governors of the colonies were appointed by that board. As they represented the crown, they on all occasions assumed the prerogatives of the crown; and as in those days the people had but few rights, the governors were apt to take it for granted that any attempts on the part of the people to assert any of their rights were the assumptions of a stiff-necked and rebellious people, and they so represented it to the authorities in the mother-country. The people, on the other hand, had always

1767 discussed their public business in town meetings and popular assemblies, and had had such control over the conduct of their own affairs that they were in reality the freest people of those times. They elected their own representatives to their assemblies, and maintained that it was their right to do so. The governors, however, asserted that this was a concession on the part of the crown and not a right. They therefore commenced to grant the privilege in some cases and refuse it in others, but this created so much irritation that they were obliged finally to give up the practice.

The people were most loyal, but the only representation of them made to the crown was that of constant opposition to the royal (governor's) will, and hence the entire misconception of both the people themselves and their acts. They were all free Englishmen, and because they were free they resented unlawful and arbitrary acts. The governors assumed the royal prerogative, but the people, when the governors overstepped what they considered to be their constitutional authority, refused to allow them to act, or to vote the necessary supplies. As the result of this unwarranted assumption on the one side and the constant opposition to it on the other, there were few in England, even among those who had lived a long time in the colonies, who were capable of understanding the state of affairs there, since they were for the most part represented by one party only. In England the opinions disseminated were of those who were in sympathy with the government officers and held their views of the delegation of the royal prerogative. This state of things led to the formation of organizations on the part of the people for mutual conference, and a great desire on the part of the authorities to break them up and to make a union of all the colonies under the head of a governor-general to be appointed by the king.

In 1754 the danger of war with the French led to the calling of a congress at Albany to present a plan of operations against the French. During the sessions of this congress the idea of a congress of all the colonies was earnestly advocated, but it came to nothing; only the seed was sown which was

afterward to grow. The idea of the government and of the governors was, that such a union would lessen the expense of conducting the government and concentrate the power in the hands of a single individual. The idea of the people was, that with a union and representative assemblies they would be protected. The government meant despotism, the people meant freedom; and hence there was not only no union of purpose, but an impossibility of immediately carrying out any plan which looked toward a union of the colonies in a general congress in which the interests of all should be represented.

While the people recognized that from a military point of view such a union as the governors proposed would be an excellent arrangement, from their point of view they saw just as clearly that it would break up the local self-government of each colony, and they would not listen to any plan which would in any way jeopardize or even interfere with it. The idea of a union of the colonies was first proposed in 1701 in New York, and had been repeatedly before the Lords of Trade, but no plan had been suggested which was acceptable both to the people and the authorities. But the idea of a union of some kind had been more or less a definite one in the minds of all the statesmen of those days. The people refused to be taxed without their own consent. They declined to vote salaries and supplies when the government *ordered* them to do so, but they cheerfully voted them when left to their own free will. They willingly agreed to make a contribution for the support of the English government, but they declined to be taxed to support it. Up to the accession of George III., in 1760, the relations of the colonies and the mother-country had been friendly. They would have been entirely peaceful but for the struggles with New France. The people were loyal, and the government, on account of its relations with France, did not think it wise to do anything which would, directly or indirectly, irritate them. Slight friction there was, as there always will be among people who are governed from such long distances. The common object among the colonies was in some way to form a union to protect themselves from the In-

1760-1765 dians and from New France, but there had been no serious cause of complaint with the home government for nearly one hundred years. George III. came to the throne in the year 1760. He seems from his youth to have imbibed a prejudice against the colonies, and commenced at once a series of oppressive measures which created dissatisfaction and aroused opposition on the part of the colonies. The antagonism really commenced in 1761, when the people resisted the search-warrants, denied the authority of the king and Parliament to tax them without their consent, while they were willing to vote taxes in their own legislatures and were glad to bear their part in carrying on the affairs of the great empire of which they were proud to be a part. Notwithstanding the repeated assertions that no taxes could be levied on the colonies except by their legislatures, the lords determined to tax them. In 1764 Parliament voted to raise a revenue from the colonies by means of a Stamp Act. In drawing the act the only limit to their measures seems to have been how far it would be safe to extort money from the colonies without creating a rebellion. Remonstrances at once were sent from all the colonies; every one of them took the ground that unless they were represented and had a vote in Parliament that body had no right to tax them. They were willing to contribute their quota if it was requested in the king's name, and when so asked they would gladly vote it, but Parliament had no right to tax them.

These remonstrances were of no avail. Early in 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, and was received with the tolling of bells and every sign of indignation. Virginia was the first to defy it. The people had grown used to the expression of their opinions, and when, on May 29, 1765, Patrick Henry said, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and George the Third may profit by their examples," the cry of treason which immediately followed from the king's supporters found no echo. The other colonies followed. There had never been any curtailment of the freedom of speech, and they were accustomed to denounce oppression. A general congress to protest was called for the 7th of October. Nine colonies were

represented, and those who did not come sent their cordial 1765-1768 approval. Secret societies, called the Sons of Liberty, were formed to resist the law. They burned the stamp officers in effigy, they compelled them to resign, and in a few instances the mob destroyed their property. The stamps were thrown into the sea or burned. Lawyers agreed not to notice the absence of the stamp on any legal documents. The act was repealed. The news was received with all the demonstrations of joy. An address of thanks was voted to the king, and every manifestation of loyalty was made, and for two or three years there was quiet. But in repealing the Stamp Act Parliament had asserted its right to make laws binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever," and in 1767 they proceeded to tax them, and among other things they taxed tea.

The people saw another Stamp Act. They had no representation, and they refused to be taxed except by their own legislatures. Massachusetts sent circular letters to all the assemblies, addresses were made to the ministry, and a petition dispatched to the king. Governor Bernard represented the movement, which was unanimous in all the colonies, as the action of a few demagogues. The ministry threatened to dissolve all the assemblies who should agree with Massachusetts, and directed the governors to suspend any legislature which should refuse to vote according to their will.

The king, receiving the petition with contempt, declared it an act of open rebellion; and so matters went on, until a secretary of state threatened to suspend all the legislative bodies in the colonies. The colonies received the news with scorn. At last the crown determined to send troops to Boston, the chief city of the most rebellious of the colonies. In February, 1768, the General Court of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the sister-colonies, asking them to unite in measures to oppose the aggressions of the mother-country, but no action was taken on it. Governor Bernard required the General Court to rescind this letter. Ninety-two members refused to rescind; seventeen voted to comply, and at once became odious throughout the entire province under the nickname of

1768 the "Rescindors"; but some of these men afterward became distinguished patriots and great leaders in the war. But while they resolved "that King George the Third is our rightful king, and that we will bear true allegiance to him," they did not hesitate to send such resolves to the governor as made him apprehensive of the result. On June 10, 1768, the sloop *Liberty* was seized without a warrant by the revenue officers for an alleged violation of the customs, which was not proven. Impressment of citizens was commencing to be common. Against this the people protested, but it was of no use. The affair was misrepresented to the English government, the people were declared to be lawless, martial law was threatened, and it was decided to send troops to Boston and make an example of her, and to grant the colonists nothing "except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." In September, 1768, it was announced that the troops were to arrive. The governor was asked to convene the assembly and decide how to receive them. He refused. The selectmen of Boston then notified all the towns of Massachusetts to send delegates to a convention to be held in that city in order to deliberate about it. Ninety-six towns sent delegates, who paid no attention to the governor's order to disperse, and showed how the colony could legislate for itself in the absence of a regular legislature. The law compelled the soldiers to be quartered in the regular barracks, which were at Castle William in the harbor, and made it a severe offense to quarter troops anywhere else until this was filled. When quarters were asked by the commanding officer, he was shown the law. He could do nothing, and the soldiers were actually quartered in tents on the Common. As the governor was determined to have the troops within easy call they remained in the tents until it was so cold that the officers were compelled to hire quarters at high rates at the expense of the crown. They were encamped there seventeen months, and during this time six persons were killed by the soldiers, and this fact was sent to England exaggerated into a massacre. But after a trial in Boston lasting seven months, all the soldiers who had been arrested

were acquitted, except two, who were sentenced to only a slight punishment, their defenders being John Adams and Josiah Quincy, so determined were the people not to find a cause of offense against the crown. The General Court met in Boston, according to the charter, in the month of May. They immediately demanded of the governor the removal of the soldiers and of the ships in the harbor while they were in session. This the governor was powerless to do, so he removed the session to Cambridge, as they refused to transact business when surrounded by an armed force. 1768-1773

The forbearance but determination of the people, and the growing dissatisfaction, made Parliament in the spring of 1769 repeal all the duties except the one upon tea, which yielded only three hundred pounds sterling per annum. They recalled Governor Bernard to satisfy the colonies, but made a knight of him to show how thoroughly in sympathy they were with him, and appointed as governor Hutchinson, a native of Massachusetts, and a man of great learning. He was a sincere man, and had been, previous to the commencement of the trouble, elected to almost all the offices in the gift of his colony. In Stamp Act times he had favored the royal government and incurred the bitter hatred of the people. He was recalled in 1774. His appointment as governor was one of the most oppressive of the many unwise acts done by Parliament at this time. They might better have left Governor Bernard. The troops remained through the year 1769. They led loose lives. They scandalized the people, besides annoying them. In September they assaulted James Otis, so that he finally lost his reason. In March, 1770, the firing on the people, by which several were killed and others wounded, led to the demand for the complete withdrawal of the troops from Boston. This was done by such a popular uprising and was made in such a peremptory way that the order was complied with before sundown, and the troops were withdrawn to Castle William. They were encamped for seventeen months in Boston, notwithstanding that their presence was odious to the people, and their withdrawal was only politic. There had been

1770-1772 but few collisions. The withdrawal of the troops served to divide the colonists. Many thought this concession enough, but the majority were not satisfied with concessions, they demanded their rights. In July, 1770, New York withdrew from the non-importation agreement which it had agreed to in 1765, as it was against their interest to keep it, and in July they sent orders to England for all sorts of merchandise except tea. The letter of the New York merchants announcing it was received everywhere with the greatest indignation. In Boston it was torn in pieces at a public meeting, in New Jersey it was burned on the village green, and the church bells tolled. The citizens of Philadelphia wrote to New York, "Send us your liberty pole, as you clearly have no use for it." The king now commenced to harass the colonies with vexatious and unnecessary measures. The search-warrants were carried out arbitrarily, and when, in June, 1772, the *Gaspee* grounded in the bay, she was seized and burned to the water's edge, and the chief-justice of Rhode Island refused to take cognizance of it. In August the king ordered that the judges should have their salaries paid by the crown, and not by the colony.

In October, 1772, at a town meeting in Boston, a committee was appointed to ask Governor Hutchinson whether the judges' salaries were to be paid by the crown, and to request him to convene the assembly to discuss this and other important matters. The governor told them that the town had no right to petition for the assembly, and ordered them to mind their own business. Samuel Adams then moved that a committee of correspondence be appointed, so that the colonies, counties, and towns could advise one another, could consider what infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies had been made, and then publish them to the world. The governor laughed at the resolution, but by the end of the year more than eighty towns had organized their committees, and made a new legislative body, and as it was always in session, no power but that which created it, *i.e.*, itself, could prorogue or dissolve it. This system was followed by the other colonies.

It was really the foundation of the American Union. In 1773 March, 1773, the Assembly met and offered the judges their salaries, and threatened to impeach them if they accepted anything from the crown. While the people were in this state of feeling the king resolved on new aggressions in the way of taxation. The people, who were anxious to live up to their principles and still not go without tea, had been smuggling it from Holland. In order to keep up the failing fortunes of the East India Company, the king now proposed to make the tea coming from England cheaper than they could get it from Holland, but restored the duty of three pence per pound, and sent, in the fall of 1773, ships to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The agents of the East India Company were appointed to receive the tea as consignees. On receipt of this news the popular wrath was greater than it ever was during Stamp Act times. By common consent it was agreed, although the whole country was greatly excited, to make no resistance that was not legal. In New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, during the month of October, as a result of this unspoken but well-understood resolve, the consignees were asked to resign their commissions on the ground that to act would make them enemies of their country, and they did so. In Boston, on the 18th of November, a committee appointed by a town meeting, called on the consignees and asked them to resign, and they refused. This changed the situation somewhat, as Boston then became the battlefield on which the whole question was to be fought out. As the eyes of the whole country were now turned toward that city, the committee of correspondence asked for advice. The first of the tea ships arrived in Boston Harbor on Sunday, November 28th. The committee, notwithstanding their Puritan principles, assembled at once. A few days later two other vessels arrived. The advice which came was not only unanimous but determined; from Lenox to Boston the only reply was, "Let us give up life and all that makes life dear rather than submit to this great wrong." From Philadelphia they wrote: "May God give you virtue enough to save the liberties of your country." The law re-

1773 quired that a vessel should be unloaded within twenty days of her arrival, failing which the revenue officers were to seize the ship and unload her themselves. The people demanded that all the vessels should go back to England without unloading. The governor gave orders that clearance should be refused to the vessels, and that if they turned back without it, they were to be fired on. The twenty days were up early on December 17th. The people were determined that the tea should not be landed: the governor had resolved that it should be. On December 16th a meeting of seven thousand people was held. They sent a messenger to the governor to ask for a clearance. When the messenger arrived with the governor's refusal to grant the permit for the ships, the question was asked, "How will tea mingle with salt water?" which was received with the greatest applause, and the meeting adjourned on the ground that it "could do nothing more to save the country." The people were determined. Their preparations had been carefully made. When the meeting adjourned, fifty men in the dress of Indians went down to the wharves, and, seizing the ships, broke open the chests. The stillness throughout the city was solemn. It was broken only by the blows of the hatchets, which could be distinctly heard, and before nine o'clock of that day the tea of the three ships went into Boston Harbor.

The fact that the tea was not allowed to be landed was received in all the colonies with the ringing of the church bells and with general rejoicing. In Charleston, S. C., the tea was thrown into a damp cellar and was spoiled. In Philadelphia the people forced the ship to go back to England. The colonies without exception rejoiced in these acts. They had solemnly agreed to do nothing contrary to the law, but the law did not provide for such an occasion. The defiance of the constituted authority was recognized everywhere as right, and the necessity for it was the signal for a general outcry of alarm all over the continent. But it was of alarm only, on the part of most men; they had not yet begun to believe that no redress would be given by the mother-country, and that they would have to resist. As yet there was no open demonstration made; the resist-

ance was determined, however, although it was passive. Some 1773 of the people of the country instructed their representatives that the act of the 16th of December, 1773 (when, with the sanction but without the direct order of the Committee on Correspondence, the tea was thrown into Boston harbor), which they and their descendants learned to regard as a necessary, bold, and splendid achievement of true patriots, was "unnecessary, highly unwarrantable, and every way tending to the subversion of all good order and of the Constitution."

Up to this time the colonists had been loyal subjects of King George the Third, none among them more so than John Pater-son. The son of a distinguished and loyal British officer, accustomed from his birth to associate with soldiers of high rank, submission to the will of his Maker and loyalty to his king had been the first principles of his education. When, at the early age at which his father's family became dependent on him, his study of law showed him that unless resisted, oppression finally became slavery, his principles of loyalty were brought into direct conflict with his knowledge of constitutional law, and he, with thousands of others, began to reflect that if he continued to be loyal he could no longer be a freeman. He was still living in Connecticut, where he had had no cause to complain, but he saw very plainly that what was happening in one colony might happen in any other. He was probably then considering the idea of removing with his three little children to Massachusetts. He saw clearly what might befall him in Connecticut, and he foresaw the position he must take in Massachusetts, but, as the sequel showed, he had no misgivings as to the part he should take.

In England the Boston Tea Party was regarded as the culmination of years of riot and lawlessness. The king and the ministry determined to make an example of Boston for her defiance of their authority, and so in its shortsightedness Parliament passed the five acts for the better regulation of the American colonies: First, the "Boston Port Bill," by which Boston ceased to be a port of entry; second, the alteration, or rather the annulling without previous notice, of the

1773 charter of Massachusetts Bay, making counselors, judges, and magistrates to be appointed by the crown and to hold office during the royal pleasure; and third, providing that any person indicted for murder or other capital offense committed while aiding the magistracy might be sent to some other colony or to England for trial; fourth, making legal the quartering of troops in Boston; fifth, making the Roman Catholic religion lawful in Canada, and extending the bounds of this colony to the Ohio River, in spite of the claims of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia to this territory; this region to be governed by a despotic viceroy, and to have no *habeas corpus*, no liberty of the press, and no popular meetings. Town meetings were forbidden except for the balloting for municipal officers and representatives to the General Court, and nothing but voting could be done in them. All discussion was strictly forbidden. For the transaction of all other business special town meetings had to be called, and could only be held on a license issued by the governor, and then only for the special purpose named in the license; no other business could be transacted. Every safeguard of liberty was abrogated. The charter of the colony of Massachusetts Bay had been a matter of contention almost from the time it was granted. The people had been kept fully aware of its value, and were sensitive about it, and the abolition of it was to them a much more serious matter than it would ordinarily be. The charter was originally granted, as a colonial one, on March 4, 1629, by King Charles II. No one ever knew why he granted it. His hatred of the Puritans is well known, and it is surmised that he gave it to facilitate their leaving the country. The large emigration to New England, consequent upon so favorable a charter, could not fail to attract attention. It was reported to him that the people emigrating were all "persons known to be ill-affected and discontented as well with the civil as ecclesiastical government." On February 21, 1634, this excited alarm. The vessels, filled with emigrants, were stopped, and the representatives of the company ordered by the Privy Council to produce and surrender the charter,

but it had been sent to New England in 1630 in charge of 1773 Governor John Winthrop, and could not be produced. The order was sent to Governor Winthrop, and reached him in July, at which time he was no longer governor. Governor Dudley (who had been elected a few months before) and his Assistants resolved to delay, and then began a struggle for the possession of the charter which lasted fifty-two years. In 1635 the charter was declared void by default, as no one appeared in the suit against the Massachusetts Bay Company brought in the Court of the King's Bench. The company, however, paid no attention to the decree. On the 4th of April, 1638, the Board of Lords Commissioners wrote to Governor Winthrop demanding peremptorily the immediate surrender of the charter, and ordering him to send it back on the return voyage of the ship which took out the order, under the penalty that unless the order was complied with they "will move his majesty to resume into his hands the whole plantation." The order reached Governor Winthrop in the early summer of 1638, and he determined to procrastinate. The General Court did not meet until September. When they did meet they refused to send it back on the ground that if sent back it would be surrendered, and that they would then have to accept any governor sent out instead of electing their own. They sent a petition, which, to their surprise, was well received, and after that King Charles II. had other things to think of, and the whole matter was forgotten. In 1686 the colonial charter was brought to light again, and was vacated by the English courts, and for five years the colony was without any. In 1691 William and Mary granted the provincial charter, which the acts of Parliament had just repealed. They had lived fifty-three years under their present charter, but the old controversy had not been forgotten, and these acts of Parliament revived the bitterness of the old discussion, which only made the present acts more unendurable. They roused the dissatisfaction which was everywhere felt into the most free and open expressions of indignation. The injustice of taxation without representation, and of the enactments of the

1774 incorporation of towns without the right of sending a representative to the General Court, were most emphatically denounced throughout Berkshire County and in the Province of Massachusetts Bay generally.

Governor Hutchinson was superseded by General Gage. He had said that with four regiments he could subdue the colonies; and these were given him, and he was instructed not only to close the port of Boston, but to frighten the people into submission by arresting on the 1st of June all the leaders of the patriots, and to order the soldiers to fire on the people wherever and whenever he thought they were asserting themselves too much. All these acts were in utter defiance of every principle of justice which had always been held sacred by Anglo-Saxons, but they were accepted by George the Third, as he said himself, "with supreme satisfaction." He was sure that the Americans were a set of cowards who would not fight, and would give in after a few demonstrations. His three years' experience of them ought to have taught him better. As soon as the other colonies heard that the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, they felt that the same thing might happen to them, and they made common cause with that colony.

The news of the Boston Port Bill reached Boston on the 10th of May, 1774, and it changed the whole face of affairs, for practically all the liberties of the people were then taken away and placed in the hands of the governor; and it seems as if almost by inspiration the majority of the people throughout the province were filled with but one feeling, and that was resentment and determination to resist. Marblehead, which was selected to take the place of Boston as a port of entry, invited the merchants of that city to use their wharves and warehouses free of charge. On May 12th the Committee of Correspondence met in Faneuil Hall and sent a circular letter to all the other colonies, asking for sympathy and co-operation. In the course of the summer responses were made by nearly every one of the colonies, asserting that Boston was suffering in the common cause. Supplies of all kinds were sent to that

city as gifts, to enable them to endure the loss of their commerce. The acts of Parliament were printed and circulated with deep black borders, and in many towns were publicly burned by the common hangman. 1774

The Boston Port Bill went into effect on June 1, 1774. On the same day Governor Hutchinson sailed in the *Minerva* for England. From that day on, the authority of the king and Parliament was never again recognized by the people of Massachusetts. They held that as all governments are only possible by and with the consent of the governed, and as their charter had been illegally and without their consent annulled, they had by this fact lapsed into a state of nature, and that a new government could now only be made by the free vote of the majority of the people. The royal governors held, on the contrary, that the people had now no rights whatever, and acted accordingly. June 1st was observed throughout the whole country as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. It was ushered in by the tolling of muffled bells, the flags were put at half-mast, and the churches were open for solemn services. These services Washington, who was then at Williamsburg, Va., attended. The war which Parliament virtually declared when it annulled the charter of Massachusetts did not break out until the orders came to arrest Adams and Hancock. The attempt of the troops to seize them resulted in the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775 and the Declaration of Independence in 1776. In Massachusetts the different counties held congresses of deputies sent from their towns to consider "the alarming state of public affairs," and resolved to "preserve their chartered rights against the aggression of the acts of Parliament," "for the better regulation of the government of Massachusetts Bay and the impartial administration of justice in the same." The people determined to administer their own government, and commenced to arm themselves in the face of the royal governors and in the teeth of their orders. Among the very first of these congresses was the Berkshire Convention, to which John Paterson, who had very early in the year 1774 moved into Massachusetts, was sent as

1774 a delegate from Lenox. It convened at Stockbridge July 6, 1774, and continued in session two days. The Worcester Congress met on August 9th, but did not reach decisive action until the 30th. All the towns in the county then incorporated, except two, were represented. But something more was necessary than the expression of sympathy, for it was evident that what could be done in one colony could be done in another, and to resist it concerted action was necessary. The Sons of Liberty in New York immediately proposed a Continental Congress. The proposition was at once taken up.

The governor had convened the Massachusetts Assembly for the 7th of June, and it was then in session at Salem. On the 17th of June Samuel Adams, having previously locked the door to prevent interference, proposed the election of delegates to a Continental Congress to meet in Philadelphia on September 1st, which was done. Before the proceedings were finished the governor heard of it, and sent his secretary with a writ dissolving the assembly; but the door was locked and no one would open it, so he had to content himself with reading the writ to the crowd outside. In the meantime the assembly went on with their work. They appointed delegates to the Congress, they assessed the towns for the necessary expenses, and adjourned *sine die* before the governor could dissolve them. All the other colonies except Georgia sent delegates to this Continental Congress, and she promised to do what was determined by it. Before the Congress met Massachusetts had set the annulling of the charter and the power of the king at defiance; for when, on the 16th of August, the court was to meet at Great Barrington, 1500 unarmed men assembled at the court-house, and so completely filled and surrounded it that when the judges arrived to hold court they could not enter the building, and the people both inside and out refused to make way for them. Two of the king's mandamus councilors declined to act, and the others were forced to resign. The example set in Berkshire County was followed throughout the province, and was everywhere successful. The king's court could not sit anywhere in the

province except where it was under the immediate protection 1774 of the royal troops. As these places became fewer and fewer it happened at last that they were finally all suppressed, so that the courts closed in 1774 by crowding the judges out of their places, were not again opened until they were reconstructed under the constitution of the State in 1780. The people assembled in town meetings in the presence of both the soldiers and the governor, and when he threatened them they commenced to collect ammunition. On a false rumor that the soldiers had fired on the people, 20,000 men, in less than forty-eight hours, marched toward Boston, and went quietly back to their homes when the rumor proved to be unfounded. The Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. They prepared an address to the people of Great Britain and all of the colonies, drew up a declaration of rights, asserting that the colonies could only be taxed by themselves, approved what had been done by the county conventions, appointed May 11, 1775, for a second Congress, in which Canada and Florida were invited to join, and adjourned on October 26th. On February 1st Lord Chatham introduced a resolution into Parliament which would have avoided the war, repealing the oppressive measures, and renouncing the right of taxation; but it was voted down by large majorities in both Houses, and the war then became inevitable.

Immediately after the news of the Boston Port Bill the Assembly of Virginia, which had been dissolved by the governor but was still sitting, ordered the Committee on Correspondence to communicate with the other colonies of British America with regard to the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies to meet annually in a general congress, to deliberate on such measures as the united interests of the colonies might require. The *Boston Gazette* of June 20th says: "The aspect of affairs is highly favorable, . . . the whole continent seeming inspired by one soul, and that a vigorous and determined one." This unanimity was owing to the constant interchange of thought and opinion made possible by the proceedings of the conventions and congresses.

1774 County conventions were held in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in the year 1774, especially the notable one at Stockbridge in the county of Berkshire on the 6th of July of that year. It was composed of "sixty gentlemen deputies," who, feeling deeply the forbidding of the manufacture of raw materials found so abundantly in the province, adopted the "Solemn League and Covenant." It had already been adopted in Boston. It was also signed by a large majority of the people of all the towns and counties in the province and some of the other colonies, and was rigorously adhered to. It had for its object to prevent the use by the colonists of articles imported from Great Britain. To the Berkshire Convention John Paterson was sent as a delegate from Lenox. He not only signed the "Solemn League and Covenant" himself, but was one of the most active in procuring signatures to it. On the 14th of July, 1774, the resolutions adopted by the Berkshire Convention were signed by one hundred and ten citizens of Lenox at the instigation of their deputies. These resolutions and the "Solemn League and Covenant" were the basis of the principles upon which the Revolution was made, and they became in a few weeks as familiar to all the people as household words.

The text of the "Solemn League and Covenant" is given below in full.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

Whereas the Parliament of Great Britain have of late undertaken to give and grant away our money without our knowledge and consent; and in order to compel us to a servile submission to the above measures have proceeded to block up the harbor of Boston; also have vacated, or are about to vacate, the charter, and repeal certain laws of this province heretofore enacted by the General Court, and confirmed by the king and his predecessors; therefore, as a means to obtain a speedy redress of the aforesaid grievances, we do, solemnly and in good faith, covenant and engage with each other:

I. That we will not import, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person by, or for, us to import, purchase, or consume in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandise which shall arrive in America from Great Britain from and after the first day of October, 1774, or such other time as shall be agreed upon by the American Congress, nor any goods

which shall be ordered from thence, after this day, until our chartered 1774
and constitutional rights shall be restored, or until it shall be determined
by the major part of our brethren in this and the neighboring colonies
that a non-importation and non-consumption agreement will not have a
tendency to effect the desired end, or until it shall be apparent that a non-
importation and non-consumption agreement will not be entered into by
a majority of this and the neighboring colonies; except such articles as
the said General Congress of North America shall agree to import, pur-
chase, or consume.

II. We do further covenant and agree, that we will observe the most
strict obedience to all constitutional laws and authority, and will at all
times exert ourselves to the utmost for the discouragement of all licen-
tiousness and suppression of all mobs and riots.

III. We will all exert ourselves, as far as in us lies, in promoting love,
peace, and unanimity among each other; and for that end we engage to
avoid all unnecessary lawsuits.

IV. As a strict and proper adherence to the present agreement will, if
not seasonably provided against, involve us in many difficulties and incon-
veniences; we do promise and agree that we will take the most prudent
care for the raising and preserving sheep for the manufacturing of all such
cloths as shall be most useful and necessary; for the raising of flax and
manufacturing of linens. Further, that we will, by every prudent method,
endeavor to guard against all those inconveniences which may otherwise
arise from the foregoing agreement.

V. That, if any person shall refuse to sign this or a similar covenant,
or if, after signing it, shall not adhere to the real intent and meaning
thereof, he or they shall be treated with that neglect justly deserved.

VI. That if this or a similar covenant shall after the first day of August
next be offered to any trader or shopkeeper in this county, and he or they
shall refuse to sign the same, for the space of forty-eight hours, that we
will not, from thenceforth, purchase any article of British manufactures,
from him or them, until such time as he or they shall sign this or a similar
covenant.

This covenant was the result of a wonderful uprising of
popular spirit in an age when the ordinary acts of the Eng-
lish government were generally quietly acquiesced in, but were
such as are now considered not only despotic but arbitrary.
The county of Berkshire, which up to 1761 had been a part of
Hampshire County, of which Sheffield was one of the largest
towns, was filled by just such a spirit. The town of Lenox
was incorporated in 1767, and its inhabitants were thoroughly

1774 loyal subjects to George III. (as is shown by the resolution passed by the Stockbridge Convention of July 6, 1774) until they were forced by his arbitrary acts to declare, as they did on December 25, 1775, "that there shall be no more warrants given out in his majesty's name to warn town meetings."

CHAPTER II.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES AND THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

ON the 1st of September, 1774, Thomas Gage, the royal 1774 governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, issued his precept to each of the towns of the colony, commanding them to send their representatives to the General Court to be convened at Salem on the 5th of October, 1774. On the 5th he began to fortify Boston Neck, so as to close the approach to the city by land. On the 6th, 5000 armed men at Worcester prevented the unconstitutionally appointed judges from taking their seats for the county assizes. The same day the Suffolk County Convention declared "that the king who violates the chartered rights of the people forfeits their allegiance," and ordered all the officers appointed under the regulating act to resign at once. They ordered the collectors of taxes to decline to pay them over to the governor's treasurer. They advised the towns to choose militia officers, and sent word to the governor that if he arrested any one for political offenses they would seize the officers of the king and hold them as hostages. On the receipt of these resolutions a provisional government was formed. The same day the Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia and approved the Suffolk resolutions and demanded the repeal of the acts of Parliament. On the 28th of September, fearful of the effect of these demonstrations, Governor Gage, incensed by the instructions given by many of the towns to their representatives elected for the General Court, revoked his precept, notifying the members not to come, on account of "the disordered and unhappy state of the

1774 province, the extraordinary resolves which had been passed in many of the counties, and the instructions given by the town of Boston and some other towns to their representatives." The "pestilent leaders," as he called the representatives of some of the towns, were ordered to remain at home; but he neglected to recognize that these leaders were not moving of themselves, but by the authority and at the wish of the people, and that these people, whose power he did not recognize and whose authority he despised, were the ones who were the real governors. This revocation, together with the indignation against other acts of the crown and Parliament, which was already boiling up in the minds of the people, intensified the bitter feeling existing between the colonies and the mother-country. Up to that time loyalty to the crown had been a matter of religion with most of the colonists. It was only a few disaffected ones, who, according to the governor, "were not in the majority, who were fomenting sedition," but this arbitrary act caused a great addition to these ranks and brought the disaffected into the majority. All the towns had elected their representatives to the General Court, and these representatives were the best and ablest men in the province. The towns unanimously decided that their representatives should pay no attention to the counter-proclamation, and should proceed to Salem notwithstanding the revocation of the governor's precept.

To this congress John Paterson was sent as the representative of the town of Lenox, and he was one of the most active and influential men in it. The members were fully aware of the responsibility they had assumed, and were equal to the emergency; but in order that they should take no step without the authority of their constituents, they kept adjourning and returning to their own homes to consult the people from whom they had received their authority. The instructions given to John Paterson by the town of Lenox were, that if the governor, whose presence in the General Court was necessary to its legal organization, presented himself, to proceed to find, if possible, a "remedy for the disordered and unhappy state of

the province," but that if he should refuse to appear, then 1774 the representatives should proceed to their deliberations without him and find it for themselves. All the towns gave similar instructions to their representatives. Ninety of the delegates assembled Wednesday, October 5th, the day assigned in the precept. They waited one day for the governor, but he refused to meet and organize them. They organized themselves on Thursday, and on Friday they adopted the following resolution, which they sent to the governor :

Resolved : That some of the causes assigned for this unconstitutional and wanton prevention of the General Court have in all good governments been considered among the greatest reasons for convening a parliament or assembly ; and therefore the proclamation is considered as a further proof, not only of His Excellency's disaffection toward the province, but of the necessity of its most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution thereof.

They then declared themselves to be a Provincial Congress, and published their proceedings, which was their method of informing the people of their action ; but in order that there should be no mistake as to their intentions, they sent to the governor notice of what had been done by a committee of twenty-one of their number. On the 17th Governor Gage replied that by assembling without his authority they were subverting their charter and acting in direct violation of their own constitution. This is one of the few cases in which he was right, for by doing what they had done none knew better than themselves that they had committed high treason and had forfeited their lives and property to the crown of Great Britain. Their action was fully sustained by the people. The time had come when submission meant subjection, and when obedience to law, when their rulers acted in defiance of justice, was the complete surrender of their liberties. "As we are in a remote wilderness of the earth, we know but little," said the farmers of Lenox, "but neither nature nor the God of nature requires us to crouch, Issacher-like, between the two burdens of poverty and slavery."*

* Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. iii., p. 249.

1774 This act of rebellion in Massachusetts broke up all forms of law, for the king's courts could not be held among those who had defied his authority. The courts of justice were not re-established until the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780. By common agreement the people settled their differences, acts of violence were uncommon, and what differences could not be settled between parties were settled by authorities named and constituted by common consent.

During all the time that the Continental and Provincial Congresses were in session county conventions were being constantly held, and it was these conventions which had brought the sentiment up to such a point that without hesitation they converted the Great and General Court, which had been put under the ban of the governor, into the Provincial Congress which made the Revolution possible. In the meantime, Earl Chatham had tried to get the offensive acts repealed and to renounce the right to tax the colonies, but Parliament refused; all the ports of New England were closed, the army about Boston was increased to 10,000 men, and Governor Gage, who had promised to subdue the colonies with four regiments, was superseded by Howe.

It must not be supposed that the feeling which made the American Revolution was unanimous. Debates were bitter and party spirit was high; families were divided then, as they were during the late Civil War; but the movement for the Revolution was the act of an overwhelming majority, and many who were opposed at the outset became enthusiastic advocates after the majority had decided that the separation from the mother-country must be made. The people had been accustomed to live on the defensive and to be in constant fear that the arrival of each ship from Great Britain would bring fresh curtailment of their liberties. Loyalty had been part of their religion, and was still so; but when they began to ask themselves how far loyalty to the king should carry submission to the unjust enactment of his ministers and Parliament, they had already admitted the principle of the Revolution, and from that to the repudiation of the oath

taken, not only to defend the king, but "to disclose any 1774 plot of treason against his majesty or his successors, without mental reservation," was but a step.

The first seed of the Revolution was thus sown by the representatives of the people of Massachusetts Bay, who, in defiance of the proclamation of Governor Gage, were instructed by their towns to go to Salem, according to the royal precept issued September 1st, and to pay no attention whatever to the counter-proclamation. Few of us can appreciate what it cost the people to instruct those delegates to the General Court to resolve themselves into a congress, and yet it was this resolve which made it possible for the United States of America to become what they are.

To fully appreciate these events, they must not be taken as isolated facts, but must be considered in connection with the county conventions and the provincial congresses which made the acts of the Continental Congress by which the Declaration of Independence was finally made possible. The connection between the Continental Congress, the provincial congresses, and the county conventions was very close, so that the acts of each body were immediately felt throughout the whole of the country. In the year 1774, when everything was ready for the war which followed so soon afterward, they prepared the way for the ready acceptance by the people of the conversion of the General Court called by Governor Gage into the Provincial Congress which made the Revolution. There were only about three millions of people in the country at that time, but these representative assemblies, for such they were, were of such a character that in a very brief period the opinions of the people were not only formed, but transmitted to the governing bodies in such a way that there was no mistaking what public opinion was. The town-meeting was the safety-valve of public thought; the higher and more dignified assemblies digested, formulated, and expressed it. The habit of debate which every public act required led men to form their own opinions. They were, it is true, more or less influenced by the public orators, but what the town,

1774 country, single province or the united provinces thought was expressed by these assemblies. There were differences of opinion, but these were settled by votes in the open meeting, and not by newspaper editors for partisan purposes. The result was that in the thirteen States, when the time for self-assertion and independence came, "the group of statesmen that proceeded from them were a match for any in the whole history of the world and were superior to those of any other epoch."*

On December 26, 1774, the town of Lenox voted "that the Collector of the Province Tax shall pay Colonel John Paterson out of the ^{sd} tax money for his Representing us at the Great and General Court at their last May Session Ten Pounds Ten Shillings lawful money." They also voted to pay "two pounds eight shillings to Colonel John Paterson for journeying to Boston to do business with the Committee of Correspondence." He had gone to the coast under a false alarm of war. At the same meeting he with two others was chosen a committee to gather grain to provide the town with a stock of ammunition, to consist of one hundred pounds of powder, four hundred pounds of lead, and six hundred flints. Such action as this called for military organization. The people had been more or less habituated to the necessities of defense from their isolated position, but this defense had been against the barbarous warfare of the Indians. Now it was a defense of their rights against trained soldiers. Every colony had its militia organizations. Almost all the towns had had their trained bands. They had originated in the very early history of the settlements from the spontaneous feeling of the necessity of some kind of systematic protection. They were looked upon by the royal authorities as a useful means of local defense, and were regarded as an organization which might be useful to the governors in case they should be required to put down "the pestilent fellows who were fomenting disturbances." The great increase in their number during the year 1774 had either not attracted the notice of

* From Mr. Gladstone's speeches.

the authorities, or was taken as the result of a martial spirit 1774 which was natural. The general arming of the people had been so noiseless that it had excited no apprehension on the part of the royal authorities; it had been looked on as part of the necessary consequences of the isolated condition of the towns. It does not appear that it was ever regarded by them even with suspicion. Now the colonists found the train bands useful as a means of organization; and, inspired by their leaders, they commenced the formation of uniformed militia companies, with fixed terms of service, in all the towns, and in this move Lenox was not backward. In this spirit, in the congress on October 25, 1774, John Paterson had been ordered to inquire into "the state of all the stores in the commissary general's department," and he knew the resources of the province perfectly. On the 27th the congress appointed a committee of safety whose duty was to collect military stores. The towns, through their delegates, had done their work fearlessly and thoroughly. They had carried the people with them in every step, and now they came forward and voted money freely to arm, equip, and discipline those citizens who had entered "the alarm list companies," as they were called. To be a private in one of these companies was an honor; to be an officer was the highest distinction the town could confer. By this time John Paterson was most thoroughly satisfied that it was useless to try to convince the governor that he had acted unjustly, and hopeless to obtain any redress from the British crown, and that war was inevitable. He had, before the second congress was called and during its sessions, raised and organized a regiment, and while he was at home was most active in equipping it and drilling it for field service, which he told every man when he enlisted that he might be called on at any moment to render. Every one when he enlisted pledged himself to be ready to march at a moment's notice of a hostile movement of the king's troops. The privates elected the company officers, and they the field officers. It was a foregone conclusion that John Paterson, who was a born leader of men, should

1774 be elected the colonel. His early association with military life, and his knowledge of it gained while his father was in service at home, so well adapted him for leadership that he was the undisputed authority and the acknowledged leader. The regiment was raised for the defense of the colony. Lenox had previously made provision for the securing of arms and ammunition for it. In a very short time a sufficient number of persons, uniformed and equipped, had joined the regiment to entitle it to be organized as such. John Paterson, who had been chosen as its colonel, was commissioned by the Colonial Committee of Safety. The regiment was composed principally of companies from the middle and northern towns of the county. Five companies were from the county of Berkshire, four from other parts of Massachusetts, and one from the State of New York. With a great deal of labor it had been well drilled and brought to a fine state of discipline. It was fully equipped and in thorough condition for active service and was all ready when the news of the battle of Lexington and the bloody encounter at the bridge at Concord was brought to Lenox. The regiment was assembled at once, and within eighteen hours after the receipt of the news was on the march to Cambridge and was the first on the ground after the news of the battle.

The First Provincial Congress was dissolved December 10, 1774, the reason for which was the danger which the delegates foresaw of continuing to exercise so great powers as became necessary from the unexpected situation without a new election, and they recommended the towns and districts to elect members to the new congress, giving the very good reason that in times of so great emergency, when new principles were to be asserted and circumstances so extraordinary were constantly arising, the views of the people should be represented in a new congress, not by men who had been elected under different emergencies, but by those who knew the circumstances of the day. John Paterson immediately returned to Lenox, thoroughly convinced himself that war was inevitable, and he advised immediate preparation for it. This ad-

vice was followed, and sixteen days afterward, on December 26th, the town appointed a committee of eleven to collect grain for purposes of defense, and voted the sum of twenty pounds to procure and pay for a stock of ammunition. This was done on the advice of Mr. Paterson, who assured the people of the town that war, if not inevitable, was most likely, and that, if it should come, any unnecessary delay in preparing for it now would be fatal, and that without the most active resistance to the aggressions of the British crown it would be impossible to live honorably under that tyranny.

On January 30, 1775, John Paterson was elected delegate to the Second Provincial Congress, called to assemble at Cambridge on the 1st day of February following. This body organized as a Provincial Congress. Governor Gage refused all recognition of it, while it, on its part, like the First Congress, acknowledged no authority but that of the people. On February 9th John Paterson was made chairman of a committee to report the names of those who had been appointed king's councillors by mandamus and had refused to resign their appointments. They reported the names of fifteen men whom they declared to be "the implacable enemies of their country," and the secretary was ordered to send their names to all the newspapers, that they "might, if possible, be sent down to posterity with the infamy they deserve." On February 10th he was appointed on a committee "to revise the commission of the Committee of Safety and also of the Committee of Supplies, and to point out what amendments, if any, are necessary." On February 13th he was appointed a committee "to bring in a resolution for inquiry into the state of the militia, their number and equipment, and recommending to the selectmen of the several towns and districts in the province to make return of their town and district stock of ammunition and warlike stores to this Congress." On the 14th of February he was instructed to bring in a resolution to appoint an agent to go to the province of Quebec and collect the sentiments of the people there relating to the matters which disturbed the harmony existing between the mother-country and her colonies. John Brown

1775 was made this agent, and the news which he brought back resulted in the disastrous Canada campaign, which was undertaken under the impression that Canada, like the other colonies, was dissatisfied and was both likely and willing to join the other provinces in the defense of their rights. The same day he was made chairman of a committee "to bring in a resolve, directing and empowering the Committee of Correspondence for the town of Boston to establish an intimate correspondence with the inhabitants of Quebec." On February 16th he was appointed to bring in a resolution relative to adjournment, and empowering the members from Charlestown to call the Congress together at an earlier day than that to which it may be adjourned. At a town meeting held in Lenox on the 21st of March, 1775, during one of the recesses of the congress Colonel John Paterson was chosen moderator of the meeting. He was elected selectman and assessor, collector of the school tax, and was sworn in to these offices. It was thought by the congress to be of the greatest importance to secure the interest and the services of the Stockbridge Indians in the cause of the colonies, and on April 1, 1775, he was appointed to present an address to the Stockbridge Indians for the encouragement of those of the tribe who had enlisted as minute-men. It was voted to appropriate twenty-three pounds for the purchase of blankets and ribbons for each of them, and that Colonel John Paterson and Captain William Goodridge should purchase blankets and ribbons and present an address to the Indians, and that each Indian enlisted should be given one blanket and one yard of ribbon. The address, which was probably written by Paterson, in whose ability to draft resolutions and addresses his fellow-congressmen seem to have had great confidence, is given in full:

"To Johoiakin Mothksin and the rest of our brethren, the Indians, natives of Stockbridge:

"GOOD BROTHERS: It affords us great pleasure and satisfaction to hear, by Colonel Paterson and Captain Goodridge, that our brothers, the natives of Stockbridge, are ready and willing to take up the hatchet in

the cause of liberty and their country. We find you have not been inattentive to the unhappy controversy we are engaged in with our mother-country, by reason of sundry acts the British Parliament have passed, by which our rights and privileges have been invaded and our property taken from us without our consent. We have frequently petitioned the king for redress for our grievances and the restoration of our rights; but instead of granting us relief the king's ministers have sent a large fleet and posted a great many in the town of Boston, who are daily abusing and insulting the inhabitants in order to enforce obedience to these acts. The whole continent, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, by their delegates have lately presented a petition to the king praying for relief, to which we hope we shall receive a gracious answer. We wish the fire of friendship may be again kindled between both countries; but in case our petition should not be attended to and the ministry should determine to deprive us of our rights and property by a military force, we hold ourselves obliged to defend them at the point of the sword. This is a common cause—a cause you are equally engaged in with ourselves; we are all brothers, and if the Parliament of Great Britain takes from us our property and our lands without our consent, they will do the same by you; your property, your lands will be insecure—in short, we shall not any of us have anything we can call our own. Your engaging in this cause discovers not only your attachment to your liberties, but furnishes us with an evidence of your gratitude to this province for their past favors. They have frequently at your request made laws and regulations for your protection and defense against the ravages and frauds of designing men. They have constantly and cheerfully afforded you aid and assistance, because you have given them abundant proof of your fidelity. We have directed Colonel Paterson and Captain Goodridge to present each of you that have enlisted in the service with a blanket and a ribbon as a testimony of our affection, and shall depend upon your firm and steady attachment to the cause you have engaged in.” 1775

In a short time the Stockbridge Indians enlisted a full company composed of all the fighting men of the tribe, and they did most faithful service during the war. The chief of one of the tribes which accepted the address and enlisted the men replied, however, “I am not used to fight English fashion, and you must not expect me to train like your men; only point out to me where your enemies keep, and that is all I shall want to know.”

In July eighteen of the Indian soldiers petitioned Congress to take care of their money, as they were afraid of getting

1775 too much strong drink. They asked that their money be paid to two citizens of Stockbridge, who should deal it out to them as they had need, and the petition was granted on July 5th.

The same day that the address to the Stockbridge Indians was adopted John Paterson, with Thomas Cushing and Samuel Adams of Boston, was ordered to draft a similar letter to the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, and an address to the Mohawk Indians. The address is given below, and states the whole case fully:

"CONCORD, April 4, 1775.

"REVEREND SIR: The Provincial Congress have thought it necessary to address the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, with the rest of the Five Nations, upon the subject of the controversy between Great Britain and the American colonies. We were induced to take this measure, as we have been informed that those who are inimical to us in Canada have been tampering with those nations, and endeavoring to attach them to the interest of those who are attempting to deprive us of our inestimable rights and privileges, and to subjugate the colonies to arbitrary power. From a confidence in your attachment to the cause of liberty and your country, we now transmit to you the inclosed address, and desire you would deliver it to the sachem of the Mohawk tribe to be communicated to the rest of the Five Nations, and that you would use your influence with them to join with us in the defense of our rights; but if you cannot prevail with them to take an active part in this glorious cause, that you would, at least, engage them to stand neuter, and not by any means to aid and assist our enemies; and as we are at a loss for the name of the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, we have left it to you to direct the address to him, in such way as you may think proper.

"Brothers: We, the delegates of the inhabitants of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, being come together to consider what may be best for you and ourselves to do, in order to get ourselves rid of those hardships which we feel and fear, have thought it our duty to tell you, our good brothers, what our fathers in Great Britain have done and threaten to do with us.

"Brothers: You have heard how our fathers were obliged, by the cruelty of their brethren, to leave their country; how they crossed the great lake and came here; how they purchased this land with their own money, and how, since that time, they and we, their sons and grandsons, have built our houses, and cut down the trees, and cleared and improved the land at their and our own expense; how we have fought for them,

and conquered Canada and a great many other places which they have had 1775 and have not paid us for. After all which and many other troubles, we thought we had reason to hope that they would be kind to us, and allow us to enjoy ourselves, and sit in our own houses and eat our own victuals in peace and quiet; but alas, our brothers, we are greatly distressed, and we will tell you our grief, for you, as well as we, are in great danger.

“‘Brothers: Our fathers in Great Britain tell us our lands and houses and cattle and money are not our own; that we, ourselves, are not our own men, but their servants; they have endeavored to take away our money without our leave, and have sent their great vessels and a great many warriors for that purpose.

“‘Brothers: We used to send our vessels on the great lake, whereby we were able to get clothes and what we needed for ourselves and you; but such has lately been their conduct that we cannot; they have told us we shall have no more guns, no powder to use and kill our wolves and other game, nor to send to you, for you to kill your victuals with, and to get skins to trade with us, to buy you blankets and what you want. How can you live without powder and guns? But we hope to supply you soon with both of our own making.

“‘Brothers: They have made a law to establish the religion of the pope in Canada, which lies so near you. We much fear some of your children may be induced, instead of worshipping the only true God, to pay *His* due to images made with their own hands.

“‘Brothers: These and many other hardships we are threatened with, which, no doubt, in the end, will equally affect you; for the same reason they would get our lands, they will take away yours. All we want is, that we and you may enjoy that liberty and security which we have a right to enjoy, and that we may not lose that good land which enables us to feed our wives and children. We think it our duty to inform you of our danger, and desire you to give notice to all your kindred; and as we much fear they will attempt to cut our throats, and if you should allow them to do that, there will nobody remain to keep them from you, we therefore earnestly desire you to whet your hatchet and be prepared with us to defend our liberties and lives.

“‘Brothers: We humbly beseech that God, who lives and does what is right here below, to enlighten your minds to see that you ought to prevent our fathers from bringing those miseries upon us, and to His good providence we commend you.’” *

On the 4th of April, Congress having given Captain Goodridge permission to augment his company to one hundred men to act as rangers, he was directed to apply to Colonel

* “Journal of the First Provincial Congress,” p. 118.

1775 Paterson, who would have an opportunity to consult the field-officers of the militia regiments from which the men were to be enlisted, and act as they might think best. On April 24th he was made the member from Berkshire County to attend the meetings of the Committee of Safety and Supplies and advise them "who from among the minute-men are most suitable for officers in the army now raising." He was so successful in enlisting men that on May 1st it was ordered that he "be supplied with ten sets of enlisting orders." How thoroughly he commanded the confidence of the people in military matters is shown by the fact that he was appointed by the Congress on almost every committee relating to military affairs. On March 21, 1775, the town of Lenox voted "to abide by the doings of the Provincial Congress." On April 14, 1775, they voted to procure forty muskets, "with bayonets and cartouch boxes." On April 12th he was appointed on a committee to look into matters relating to, and to attend to applications from, the plantation of New Providence. On May 3d he was appointed to give to Ebenezer Bradish a certificate of unjust accusation. On May 8th Colonel Paterson was made a member of a committee to see that all the members of the Congress were in their seats at 3 P.M. the next day, to determine "whether it was expedient to assume the government." This discussion was postponed until the 12th, when it became evident that there was no hope of redress, and it was decided to act. They assumed the government, and all the responsibilities which such revolutionary action entailed. The Congress continued in session until the 29th of May, adjourning from time to time in order that the new state of affairs might be explained to the people and their wishes ascertained. In these two Congresses he was one of the ablest and clearest of those who demanded freedom from the tyranny of the colonial representatives of the mother-country and from the mother-country itself. In the interval between the sessions Colonel Paterson visited all parts of the district that he represented, explaining the critical relations, making known the resolutions and debates of the members of the First and Second Con-

gresses, showing the wrongs inflicted upon the colony, and the necessity of maintaining their honor and manhood by preparing at once for the impending struggle. His clear statement of the legal side of the question, his patriotic appeals to their manhood, and his unflinching determination for himself not to yield, had probably as great, if not greater, influence than the representations of most of the other delegates. 1775

His ancestors had fled from Scotland to escape the tyranny of James II. He had learned in his boyhood from them that despotism, when quietly submitted to, meant slavery, and by the gradual encroachment on the charter which had been made, until he saw that instrument, in the last official acts, disappear altogether, he knew that there was no hope for the American colonists to remain freemen except by the assertion and defense of their rights. Since his graduation, as a loyal subject of the king he had urged obedience to the laws as enacted, while endeavoring when they seemed oppressive to get them changed or repealed. Now he saw that remonstrance was useless, and he freely and openly advised armed resistance as the only price at which it was possible for the provinces to retain their freedom. He believed what he said, and his earnest representations convinced people that he was right. His knowledge of law and of military matters, his ability as a leader, and the zeal and firmness that he had shown in resisting the oppressions of the British crown, made him one of the ablest and most prominent men in both Congresses. He not only kept the people of the town fully informed of all the proceedings of the Congresses, but kept them up to doing their part when action was necessary. The people required but very little urging. They were no longer actuated by the spirit of loyalty which passed the resolutions of July 6, 1774. Every town took care to be represented in all the congresses and conventions, and each individual townsman took pains to be himself thoroughly acquainted with the facts.

The winter had passed quietly. In their town meetings every man, woman, and child had had the lesson impressed upon them that, in order to secure the full sympathy of the

1775 other colonies, the government must fire the first shot. The acts of Parliament had been defied. No one could be found to serve under the royal commission. There was practically no government. The men drilled every evening in the villages, and quietly collected their military stores. In Boston the hardship was great, but no provocation was sufficient to make the people do more than assert and re-assert their rights.

On March 5th a town meeting was held in Boston at the old South Church, which was full to repletion, and at which Joseph Warren made a most eloquent address "on the baleful influences of standing armies in time of peace," at which Hancock and Adams, who had both been proscribed, were present. This gave the governor a pretext for action. The Second Provincial Congress had adjourned from April 15th to May 10th, but on the 17th of April the committee from Charlestown and the neighboring towns, who had been authorized to recall the members if necessary, sent summons to all the delegates to return at once, as General Gage had received reinforcements and was making preparations to send British troops into the interior. The government had determined to arrest Adams and Hancock as traitors and have them sent to England for trial; but Governor Gage tried first to corrupt them, which he found impossible. He then received peremptory orders to arrest them. After the adjournment of the Congress they both went to Lexington for a few days. The governor thought that it would be easier to arrest them there than in Boston or Watertown, and troops were sent there secretly for that purpose, and also to destroy the military stores which were collected at Concord. But the news leaked out, and the result was that the troops which started on the night of April 18th met with a warm reception the next morning, and the battles of Lexington and Concord took place. The expedition was a failure. The whole force narrowly escaped capture. The people had shown that they could fight, and that they had excellent ideas of military organization and were expert marksmen; and,

moreover, Great Britain had fired the first shot, so that at 1775 the end of the week Gage found himself besieged in Boston by sixteen thousand men. The affairs of the provinces had now assumed the gravest turn in their history. The notice for the reassembling of the Congress was sent by express messengers, and possibly had reached Lenox previous to the news of the battle of Lexington, which occurred on the 19th. This may account for the almost incredible promptness with which Colonel Paterson and his regiment arrived in Boston. Sending notice to all his soldiers to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, Colonel Paterson was about to return to the Second Congress. On the 20th the news of the battle of Lexington and the fight at the bridge at Concord, or, much more probably, the news of the starting of the British troops from Boston, reached Lenox by special couriers, who had ridden night and day by relays to carry it. These events, following so quickly one upon the other, demanded attention at once, and the town responded immediately. The battle occurred on Wednesday; the news arrived by relays of couriers on Friday, the 17th, at noon; and on Saturday morning at sunrise the regiment, which was completely armed and equipped and for the most part in uniform, marched.* Colonel Paterson left the regiment at Cambridge, but acted as colonel of his regiment and delegate in the Congress at the same time, until the Congress adjourned. Between May 23d and 29th, when the Second Congress adjourned, they resolved to issue commissions to colonels of regiments who should procure certificates from the Committee of Safety that their regiments were filled with the proper complement of men. On the 26th of May, 1775, Colonel Paterson having assured the Committee of Safety from his seat in the Congress that his regiment had 496 enlisted men, was nearly full, was ready for service and actually in the field, a certificate of that fact was given to him, and it was recommended that the regiment be commissioned by the Provincial Congress as a part of the Continental Army.

* Azaria Eggleston, afterward his son-in-law, was in this regiment.

RETURN OF COLONEL PATERSON'S REGIMENT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. MAY, 1775.

Colonel : John Paterson.....Lenox, Mass.
Lieut.-Colonel : Seth Read.....Uxbridge, Mass.
Major : Jeremiah Cady.....Gageborough, Mass.

Chaplain : Rev. David Avery.....Gageborough. *Surgeon* : Timothy Childs.....Pittsfield.
Adjutant : Enoch Woodbridge...Stockbridge. *Mate* : Jonathan Lee....."
Quartermaster : Gerard Fitch....."

<i>Captains :</i>	<i>Lieutenants :</i>	<i>Ensigns :</i>	<i>Total in Cos.:</i>
Samuel Kelton.....	John Bacon.....	Nathan Powers.....	56
William Wyman.....	Samuel Chapin.....	Peter White.....	45
Joseph Moss.....	William Bowdoin.....	[Recruiting].....	47
Samuel Sloan.....	Zebediah Sabin.....	Enos Parker.....	49
Charles Dibble.....	Simeon Smith.....		59
William Goodrich.....	David Pixley.....		59
David Noble.....	Joseph Welch.....	Josiah Wright.....	50
Thomas Williams.....	Orange Stoddard.....	[Moses] Ashley.....	44
Nathan Watkins.....	William Clark.....	Samuel Willocks.....	54
[Theodore] Bliss.....			33
Total.....			496

NOTES on the foregoing regiment :

The date when Col. Paterson first entered the service is determined by the record of the first pay-roll. In Mass. Archives, vol. xxvii., p. 287, it appears that he was paid *first* from April 22, 1775, three days after the battle of Lexington. He was commissioned Colonel, May 27, following.

The above regiment remained in service until December, 1776. It was assigned to the brigade under Brigadier-General Heath, in the Centre Division of the Army, under Major-General Israel Putnam. Its station was generally at Redoubt No. 3, near Cambridge.

"Capn John McKinstry in Nobletown took out inlisting Orders from 1775
Capn Charles Dibbell in Colo Paterson's Regiment, we suppose his Company to be full & near if not quite compleat as to Arms & may be expected here this week

"Capn Douglas at Jerico took inlisting Orders as above, we suppose his Company to be full & arms sufficient, this company may be expected here by next Monday at furtherst

"Capn Ingersols Company may be expected every hour, he took inlisting Orders from Capn Wm Guttridge & is now on his March, supposed to be full and compleat with Arms

"Capn Pratt, we have heard is gone or proposes to go to the Northward

"Capn Strong, we are doubtful whether he will get his Company full

"JOHN PATERSON

"WM GOODRICH *

"CAMBRIDGE, June 13th, 1775"

On the 29th of May the Second Provincial Congress was dissolved, and he went at once to his regiment in the field, and never left the army, except on a very short furlough, until he retired in December, 1783. The important part that Colonel Paterson took in these congresses is shown by the fact that he was a member of so many committees during the First and Second Congresses, and that they were for the most part those which gave the tone and character to the congresses. In everything relating to military and legal matters he was the ruling spirit.

It is remarkable that while for nine months all the ordinary methods of government had been at a stand-still, and that violence might have resulted at any time, yet there had been no disturbances in the affairs of every-day life. Things had gone on as usual. The acts of the governor had been peaceably resisted. Every one was satisfied that the first act of violence must be committed by the governor, and then they would be sure of the co-operation of every one of the colonies. Drilling went on in every town in the evening on the village green. War supplies were openly collected. Organizations were perfected, but every one throughout the entire land knew

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxlvi., p. 192.

1775 that it was indispensable that the government should fire the first shot. It was not the first time that armed resistance had been prepared against the encroachments of the British crown. The first departure of armed men from Lenox to Boston was on an unfounded alarm in 1774. The people had been ready once on a false alarm, and when the first real cause came, which was after the battles of Lexington and Concord, when Revere gave the appointed signal from the church tower, they marched without delay. Colonel Paterson having been relieved from his civil duties by the adjournment of the Second Congress on the 29th of May, and being in the field with his regiment, Captain Caleb Hyde * was sent as the representative of Lenox.

On the 10th of May Ticonderoga had been captured, and a few days later St. John's. Those fortresses commanded the northern approaches to the Hudson River, and were the strategic centers of the whole northern country. It was necessary to hold them if an invasion of Canada was to be carried out on the one hand, and to prevent invasion from Canada on the other. With them were captured large quantities of military stores and cannon, of which the army was in need, and which were of the greatest use in the operations around Boston which were shortly to be carried out. The Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on the same day. This body was an advisory one without any legal power, but as there was no other central government it soon became in fact the governing body. They elected John Hancock as President in the teeth of his proscription by the king's officers. They were afraid that the garrisoning of Ticonderoga was going too far, but finally consented to it, and they adopted the army before Boston as "The Continental Army of the United Colonies," and appointed Colonel George Washington as commander-in-chief, with the title of General.

The Third Provincial Congress convened at Watertown on

* This was the Caleb Hyde whose daughter Clarissa married John Paterson's eldest son.

May 31, 1775, and adjourned July 19th. As Colonel Paterson 1775 was in the field, Captain Caleb Hyde took his place as representative from Lenox. This Third Congress, in view of what was about to happen, revised the commission of the Committee of Safety and Supplies, and gave them authority to call meetings of the Congress at any time, and other powers. On June 4th they ordered that Colonel Paterson's regiment should be paid out of the first moneys collected by the receiver-general. On June 26th they "Resolved that Captain McKinstry and Captain Porter, who have each raised a company in New York and Connecticut, be permitted to join Colonel Paterson's regiment, provided their companies are full or near full, and that each man is provided with a good and sufficient fire-lock, and that they join the regiment as soon as possible."

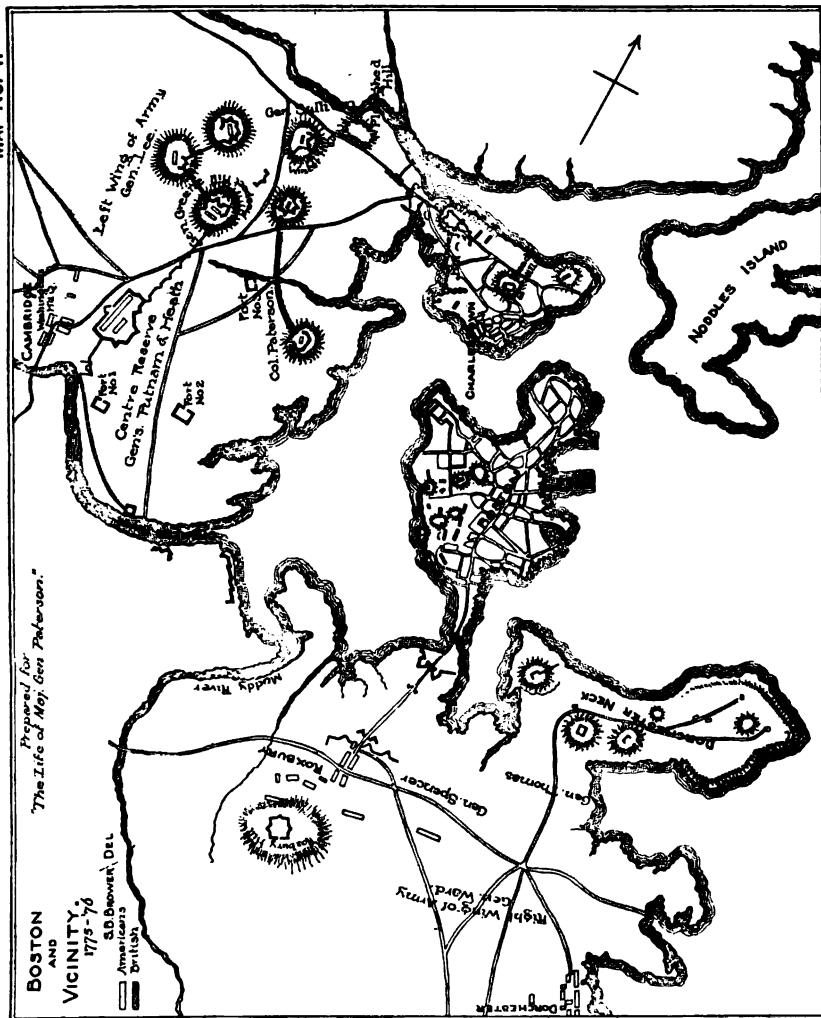
In the interval between the time that Governor Gage had been practically set aside by the people, and while the provincial congresses and the Committee of Safety were exercising all executive and legislative powers, the courts were closed; but the people were actuated by great principles, and not only were no great crimes committed anywhere which required the actions of the courts, but good order prevailed everywhere. Whatever judicial powers were necessary were exercised by members of the provincial congresses, not by virtue of commissions or authority given to them by anybody for the purpose, but by common consent. The people took upon themselves the executive duties in all departments, and common consent was the only authority known and recognized. They had learned the principle of representative government from the mother-country, but they had learned still another lesson, which was, that since they had ceased to have hereditary officers, to appoint their own by election; and finding themselves not sufficiently strong to act alone, they commenced to act first by unions of towns and then of counties, and finally by confederation of all the provinces; and to represent this union the First Continental Congress was called at Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774, and then the provincial congresses continued only as a mat-

1775 ter of necessity, with the expectation of surrendering their powers, as they eventually did, to the Continental Congress.

On the 3d of June, 1776, after the troops had left Lenox, the representatives of the town in the Congress were directed to "suppress all the tyrannical measures that have or may take place from Great Britain, and likewise to take as much care that you do not set up anything of a despotic power among ourselves, but let us have freedom at home, although we have war abroad." They were further directed "to use your utmost abilities and interest with our Assembly, and they theirs with the Continental Congress, that if they think it safe for the colonies, they declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain. And in your so doing, we do declare, in the above-mentioned thing, We'll stand by you with our lives and fortunes." On the 16th of August, 1776, the first warrants for a town meeting were issued, "in the name and by the authority of the people of Massachusetts Bay." On January 27, 1788, the articles of confederation and perpetual union, together with the resolves of Congress, were read in town meeting, and it was "voted unanimously that they are agreeable." No persons were allowed to enter the town or to remain there unless recommended by a committee, that they were friendly to the United States of America. The families that would not be reconciled were banished and their property confiscated, or they were watched and compelled to remain at home.

These provincial congresses cannot be looked at as individual assemblies. Their history and their significance can only be appreciated by knowing the history of every town which sent representatives to them. All of the county conventions and congresses, the committees of safety, and the Continental Congress which prepared and issued the Declaration of Independence, were inspired by the same spirit, and the majority of the people in every town represented the enthusiasm of the then two millions of inhabitants of the United States. Not that there were not people who held back and considered the Revolution a mistake. There were even people who died in the last decade but one who still considered that the separa-

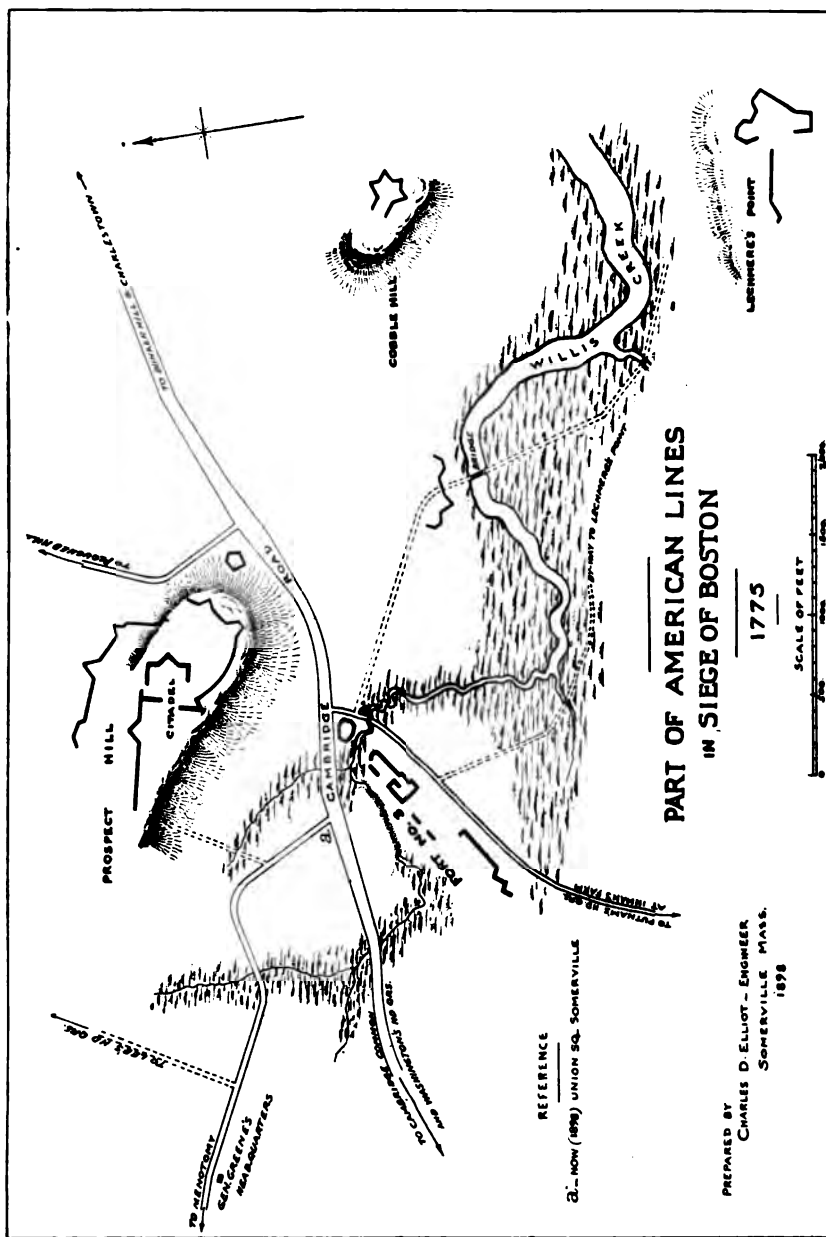
MAP NO. 1.



tion from England was an error ; but the spirit of revolution 1775 was abroad and was contagious, and as the most of the people came to this country only a few years before to escape the oppressions of tyranny, it was not at all surprising that they should resent them at this time.

On its arrival in Boston Colonel Paterson's regiment served nine days as minute-men. It was reorganized and enlarged, and on the 15th of June, 1775, was transferred to the Continental service, the Second Continental Congress having just adopted all the troops besieging the British in Boston who were willing to join the army. Colonel Paterson's regiment enlisted at once for a period of eight months, but before the end of that time most of the men re-enlisted for a longer time. The regiments sent by the various counties and States thus became the nucleus of the famous Continental Army, of which Washington was the commander-in-chief. Colonel Paterson's regiment became the 15th Foot in the Continental Infantry service. It was stationed about a mile and a half beyond Cambridge, and threw up the first redoubt along the lines around Boston which turned that city into a besieged town by blockading the highways and fortifying the country around. The regiment built and garrisoned Fort No. 3 (see map No. 1), at Prospect Hill, on Charlestown Heights, directly west of Bunker Hill and three miles away from it, in that part of Charlestown known as Sommerville. Colonel Paterson continued to command this fort until the evacuation of Boston. He was expressly ordered by General Ward to man and defend it at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, on June 17, 1775, to prevent the British troops landing and getting in the rear of our army. In this they were successful. On the 12th of June, General Gage, having completed his fortifications, and having under him an army of ten thousand men, issued a proclamation offering free pardon to every rebel who would lay down his arms and return to his allegiance, except Adams and Hancock. In reply, the Committee of Safety ordered a force of twelve thousand men to take possession of Bunker Hill. On the 16th, at sunset, they started, and worked at the earth-

1775 works during the night. In the morning they were cannonaded by the vessels in the harbor with no effect. It was evident they must either be taken in the rear by going round to Charlestown Neck by sea and cutting them off—and this is what General Ward, the American commander, thought they would do—or be taken by assault, and this was finally decided on. The British forces started at noon, and at three o'clock were ready to storm the intrenchments. When the intelligence of the landing of the British forces reached Cambridge the alarm bells were rung and the drums beat to arms. General Ward, who was in command of the American forces, had his headquarters at Cambridge. He had only given, after much pressure, a reluctant consent to fortify the heights of Charlestown. He was fully aware of the imminent danger of an attack in his rear by the British, and reserved some of his best troops, in whom and in whose officers he could have the most implicit confidence, to prepare for the expected attack on Cambridge (and among these was Colonel Paterson's and Colonel Gardner's regiments), but he ordered the rest to Charlestown. Colonel Gardner was ordered to Colonel Paterson's station on Prospect Hill. On the morning of the battle General Ward had, against his judgment, but at the earnest solicitation of his officers, sent reinforcements to defend the redoubts on Bunker and Breed's Hills that had been thrown up in the night. When later in the forenoon he received a request for more reinforcements, he "refused to weaken further the main army at Cambridge," on the ground that it was certain to be attacked. About eleven o'clock he was prevailed on to send reinforcements. When he learned that the British had actually landed and that it had become doubtful whether the Americans could hold their intrenchments on Breed's and Bunker Hills, General Ward ordered forward his own regiment and those of Paterson and Gardner; but the order was given too late to be of any service, for, having exhausted their ammunition and being worn out with the labors of the previous night and the fighting of the day, our forces were obliged to abandon the peninsula. During the afternoon



Colonel Paterson was at Jack Tuft's storehouse near to the road leading to Milk Row in Cambridge, where the wounded from the front were brought. Only one man in his regiment was wounded. After the retreat General Ward was very apprehensive that the British, encouraged by their success, would advance on Cambridge, and he took every precaution against it. But the enemy were too fearful of a reception similar to the one they had just received at Bunker Hill to undertake it. The actual fighting did not last more than an hour. James Otis, who had become harmlessly insane from the brutal and causeless attack made on him in September, 1769, fought in this battle and came out of it unharmed. Those men were not soldiers. Every man was fighting for his life and for every right that makes life dear. They were determined to preserve at all hazards what rights they had. Every man of them had been trained from boyhood never to waste ammunition, so that every officer and private was a sharp-shooter, and every bullet told. The British lost 1054 men, more than one third of the force engaged. The Americans lost 449, about one fourth of those who did the fighting. Only one of General Howe's staff survived his wounds. 1775

A description of the camp during these memorable days does not show the uniformity which is considered so necessary to a well-organized army. These men had been assembled in haste to defend principles. There was only time to collect such camp equipage as was at hand. Their tents were as "different in their form as the owners are in their dress, and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards and some of sail-cloth; some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone and turf, brick or brush; some are thrown up in a hurry, others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, which are furnished with tent equipage, and everything in the most exact English style." *

*Sparks' "Life of Washington."

1775 The British took the earthworks at Bunker Hill, but the battle belonged to the patriots. A few such victories at that time would have destroyed the British army and ended the war. In a technical sense the British won the victory, but it was a greater victory to the defeated Americans, because it taught them the lesson that a body of undisciplined men, not even militia, fighting for their rights, were capable of withstanding the attacks of a disciplined soldiery.

On May 4, 1775, Rhode Island renounced allegiance to the king.

CHAPTER III.

SIEGE OF BOSTON TO THE BATTLE OF TRENTON.

THERE was much to be done after the battle to secure the retreat of our forces and to prevent the British from pursuing the soldiers beyond Charlestown Neck into the open country. It was Colonel Paterson's duty to defend Cambridge, which he did; but the British had suffered too heavily to make any further demonstration, and a few days found them besieged in Boston as a direct result of their victory. The news of what was then thought to be the defeat of Bunker Hill reached Lenox quickly. The town never had been before, and never has been since, lacking in patriotism of the kind that is willing to sacrifice both life and treasure in defense of liberty, and on June 26th two more companies, in addition to those already in the field, started from Lenox to join Colonel Paterson. The hurry with which the troops had left Lenox, the impromptu provision that had been made for them, and how poorly equipped they were, is shown by the petition and letter of Colonel Paterson to the Third Provincial Congress, then in session, and his letter to the Committee of Supplies at Watertown, given below:

"WATERTOWN, June 20, 1775.*

"To the Honorable Provincial Congress now sitting at Watertown:

"GENTLEMEN: The petition of John Paterson in behalf of his Regiment Humbly Sheweth that they being now at Head Quarters are put to great Inconvenience and the Hazard of their Health by reason of their being destitute of Blankets. The reasons of their not being furnished are such as follows: The Men came off upon an Alarm, and the Blankets could not be obtained in the Towns they came from; that one of the Companies in the Regiment is made up of the people who came in from

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxxx., p. 59.

1775 Boston. Your petitioner knows where the Blankets may be had upon the Credit of the Province, provided an order is given for it, which your petitioner prays may be Immediately done, and your petitioner, as in Duty Bound, shall Ever Pray, etc.

"JOHN PATERSON."

"GENTLEMEN." the Bearer is a person who understands rigging of Guns, & the General ordered me to keep him at the Business, but cannot for want of Tools. Should be extremely obliged to you if you'd be so kind as to direct him in this affair as we have a Number of Guns in our Regiment at present useless

"I am Gentlemen Your

"Most Obedt. Servt.

" June 28. 1775

"J. PATERSON

" To the Hon^{ble} Committee of
" Supplys at Watertown. "

On June 30th the Committee of Safety ordered forty small-arms to be delivered to Colonel John Paterson, which he received for as follows :

" June 30, 1775 †

"Received of the Committee of Safety, Forty Small Arms for the use of my Regiment amounting as by Appraisement to Seventyeight pounds, sixteen shillings and four Pence which Guns I engage shall be returned in good order unless lost in the service of this Colony

"JOHN PATERSON Collo."

The request for blankets was complied with on the same day ; but unfortunately these representations of the distress of the men were not always so promptly heeded, and when the fall came, complaints became loud and sometimes led to infractions of discipline, and on November 15th Colonel Paterson was ordered, as president of a court-martial, to try soldiers engaged in a mutiny in camp. In the light of to-day our sympathies are with the men who suffered, though not with the unlawful means they took to get redress for their wrongs, for wrongs they were. We are very apt to think that the wrong-doing was only on the British side, but as to-day we look back on the sufferings of the men in our own army, who had sacrificed everything and failed to get redress for their

* From the collection of D. McN. Stauffer, New York.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxi., p. 77.

wrongs, we are apt to ask the question in what light the ac- 1775
 tions of the provinces who rebelled against their king on account of wrongs inflicted on them, and for which they could obtain by legal means no redress, differed in any way from the rebellion of those men against their officers for wrongs no less real, which were accompanied with danger to their lives. They could obtain no redress by petition, and the privations of some of them, which they had willingly endured up to this time, cost them their lives. Their heroism was shown afterward in many a fight, and their patience in many an ill-provided camp. Those who lived saw, or thought they saw, the same fate before them. Nothing but the noblest patriotism kept them in many cases from desertion to the enemy. No neglect of discipline was tolerated in either officers or men. Those who thought themselves justified by the difficulties of their situation in falling short of the duty they owed to their country, and happily there were but few of them, found how entirely they were mistaken. We find one of the captains in Colonel Paterson's regiment was, on August 7, 1775, court-martialed for "neglect of duty," and sentenced "to be reprimanded at the head of the regiment," and that on August 14th Colonel Paterson was member of another court-martial to try a colonel of one of the Massachusetts regiments for "high crimes and misdemeanors." On October 3d "John Gallop of Capt. Watkins' [Williams] Company in Collⁿ Paterson's Regiment Try'd at the above Court Martial for absenting himself from his Regiment from the 27th of June to the 27th of September following, and for carrying off and disposing of a Colony Gun. The Court find the Prisoner Guilty of the Crime where with he was accused, and sentence him to be whipped on his Bare Back 15 lashes, and order the value of his Gun to be stopped out of his pay."

On the 2d of July General Washington arrived in Cambridge, and on the following day took formal command of the army. Up to this time the army besieging Boston was composed of 16,000 men under local commanders and their own provincial flags. Artemas Ward of Massachusetts was

1775 by courtesy the commander-in-chief. In this army 11,500 men were from Massachusetts, 2300 from Connecticut, 1200 from New Hampshire, and 1000 from Rhode Island. The army was a local one. A month later the army ceased to be local, for Congress sent 3000 men from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. These men were not soldiers, most of them not even militia, but they knew how to use a gun, and were practiced hunters. They had been enlisted in the enthusiasm of the moment for various periods, and had almost nothing except a musket that belonged to a soldier's outfit; but with little to do beyond the ordinary routine of military life, and with no fighting, it was wonderful that they could be kept together. Out of this material it now devolved on Washington to make an army, to find officers for it, and to organize a capable staff. Any one of the officers and men knew all about the management of a town meeting, but they knew little or nothing about military organization. Few armies have ever had to struggle with such difficulties. The idea had taken possession of the people that the war was to be a short one; consequently the enlistments were for short periods. The result of this idea was that the army had not only to be created, but at short periods to be constantly made over. There was no properly organized government, and even Congress expected battles to be fought and won against some of the best drilled troops of Europe before this constantly made-over army was half drilled. Massachusetts was the first to elect a legislature, which was done soon after Washington's arrival, and she ended her proclamation with, "God save the people!" instead of the usual formula, "God save the King." The other colonies followed. Still Congress was unwilling to declare the colonies independent until one more effort had been made with the king. They therefore sent delegates to act independently so as not to offend the king, for it was well known that he would not recognize the colonies as a united body; and while all the military preparations went on about Boston with great activity, Congress and the people waited patiently to hear the result of the petition. Here was

an armed force in the field, an independent Congress in session, with the sole object of obtaining redress. 1775

Samuel Adams in 1768 had made up his mind that independence was the only hope of the American people; but even Washington himself was not at that time convinced that the object of raising the army which he commanded was to gain the independence of the colonies. In the course of the month of July Jefferson wrote, "We have not raised armies with designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure."

Up to this time there was no general flag used by the colonists. On the 18th of July, 1775, the 3d Connecticut Regiment raised the first American flag, in the face of the enemy, on Prospect Hill. Previous to the Revolution each colony set up its own standard. No colors were used by the men who fought at Lexington and Concord. But soon after it the General Assembly of Connecticut voted to raise seven regiments for the defense of the colony, and in May they ordered standards for each regiment. Each regiment had a different color. That of the 3d Connecticut Regiment was scarlet. This is the standard called "Putnam's flag," and the one which he ordered to be raised on Prospect Hill.

"On the 18th of July Major-General Putnam assembled his division on the heights of Prospect Hill, to have read to it the manifesto of Congress, signed by John Hancock, the president, and countersigned by Charles Thomson, secretary. The reading was followed by a prayer suited to the occasion, and, at the close of the prayer, at a signal from the general, the troops cried 'Amen,' and, at the same instant, the artillery of the fort thundered a general salute, and the scarlet standard of the Third Connecticut Regiment, recently sent to General Putnam, bearing on the one side the Connecticut motto, 'Qui transtulit sustinet,' and on the other the recognized motto of Massachusetts, 'An appeal to heaven,' was unfurled. The same ceremony was observed in the other divisions." *

* Preble.

1775 This was the first flag-raising of the Revolutionary army. The salute which was given to it alarmed the British to such an extent that they were at once paraded in order of battle.

Up to the year previous to the planting of Jamestown, in 1607, the English flag had always been the red cross of St. George on a white ground; but in 1606 the white cross of St. Andrew, which had been the standard of the Scots since the Crusades, was added to it, and the field was changed from white to blue, and from this time this flag was called the "King's colors," or sometimes the "Union colors." This was the flag under which all the first settlers who came to this country sailed. Many of the Puritans, however, regarded the red cross as a relic of popery, and despised it because it had been given to England by a pope. This feeling went so far that in November, 1634, Endicott defaced the flag by cutting out the red cross, and many of the colonists refused to use it. The matter was referred to the ministers, who finally decided that, as the fort at the entrance to Boston harbor undoubtedly belonged to the king, the "King's colors" should be displayed there, but only while vessels were passing, and from this time, 1634, it was proposed that no flag should be used by the colonists, and none was used.

In 1651 the General Court of Massachusetts ordered the use of the cross of St. George in that colony; but in 1707 the color of the flag was made crimson in England, and the two crosses were placed in the upper left-hand corner of it. This flag was not adopted by the colonies, who continued to use the "King's colors." In the year 1707 they accepted the change of color, but each colony adopted a device of its own in the place of the crosses. Massachusetts adopted a pine tree, and many of the other colonies their own arms with a motto. The flags were of all shapes and sizes, but there was nothing that was in general use; so much so, that Washington, in 1775, wrote to the commanders of our cruisers, "Please fix on some flag by which the vessels may be known."

The snake flag—a coiled snake ready to spring, and bearing the motto “Beware!” “Don’t tread on me!” “Come, if you dare!”—was largely used by the Southern colonies. A chain of thirteen links, a ring, a tiger, and a field of wheat, were also used. 1775

On July 22, 1775, the army was divided into three grand divisions consisting of two brigades each. Colonel Paterson’s regiment, which then contained 409 men, was in the center of the left wing of the third division, commanded by Major-General Putnam. On July 22d he was ordered by General Washington to retain his position at Fort No. 3. On August 13th, November 15th, and November 17th, Colonel Paterson was president of courts-martial.

The news that the king had determined to hire troops to act against his loyal and patient subjects reached Boston on October 31st; the same day the news of the burning of Portland also arrived. Congress determined that they would not wait any longer and would send no more petitions to the king, and the people supported them. They had determined to garrison Ticonderoga as a matter of precaution; now they determined on the invasion of Canada and to drive out the king’s troops, and at the same time defy his authority if they could not obtain redress.

The Provincial Congress had neglected to forward their commissions to those who marched at so short notice after the battle of Lexington, and on October 23d Colonel Paterson forwarded to the Congress a petition from them, stating that they had served as officers from the date of raising the regiment, and asking that the commissions be sent.

“Province of } To the Honorable Council & House of Representatives
Massachusetts Bay } In General Court at Watertown Assembled:

“GENT^{RS}: The Petition of Us the Subscribers humbly sheweth that we have been at part of the Trouble and Expense of raising Several Companies in the 26th Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Colonel John Paterson, and marching them to Camp, and have served as Officers in said Regiment, had encouragement of being Commissioned as such, but through Neglect have not yet received said Commissions. We therefore

1775 Humbly pray this Honorable Court, if they in their great Wisdom should think fit, to grant us commissions accordingly, and your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray, etc.

"JEDH SANGER 2d Lieut.

"JOHN MCKINSTRY Captain

"AMOS PORTER 2d Lieut.

"WILLIAM WALKER Adjutant

"WILLIAM WILKINS 2d Lieut.

"THOM MCKINSTRY 1st Lieut.

"JACOB LYON 2d Lieut.

"JOHN PENNOYER 2d Lieut.

"EDW. CUMFSTON 2d Lieut."

"This may certify that the within-Named Officers have served in their respective Offices during the summer past.

"JOHN PATERSON Col 26th Reg.

"October 28, 1775." *

In October, 1775, the term of enlistment of most of the troops had expired, and so many of the men refused to re-enlist that Washington's situation at Cambridge was really precarious. Fortunately, a knowledge of this did not reach the British commander. A committee of the Continental Congress visited Cambridge on October 22, 1775, and after consultation with Washington resolved to enlist a new army for a year. Colonel Paterson filled his regiment, but the re-enlistment was slow in all the regiments. On the whole, the ranks were better filled than before. The conduct of the regiment on the 9th of November, 1775, in resisting an attack of the British at Lechmere's Point, now West Cambridge, was mentioned with great praise in the general orders by Washington on the next day. The tide was so high that it covered the land end of the point, and converted it at that time of day into an island. The regiment "gallantly waded through the water up to their necks in order to make the attack, and soon obliged the enemy to embark under cover of a man-of-war, a floating battery, and the fire of a battery on Charlestown Neck." † Washington said of this action that "the alacrity

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxiv., p. 178.

† Letter of General Washington to the President of Congress.

of the riflemen and officers upon this occasion did them ¹⁷⁷⁵ honor, to which Colonel Paterson's regiment and some others were equally entitled." The regiment was again shortly afterward praised for its ability in resisting the attack of a marauding party at the same place, who were supported by the guns of a frigate.

How important the work at Lechmere's Point was is shown by Washington's letter to General Reed under date of February 10, 1776:

"We have had a most laborious piece of work at Lechmere's Point on account of the frost. We hope to get it finished on Sunday. It is within as commanding a distance of Boston as Dorchester Hill, though of a different part." *

The following extracts, taken from the records during the regiment's sojourn in Cambridge, show for what kind of want of discipline, and for what misdemeanors, it was necessary to punish these raw recruits:

"HEAD QUARTERS CAMBRIDGE

"2 Dec. 1775

"General Orders

"James McCormick of Capt. Dibble's Company in Colo Pattersons Regt Try'd at a General Court Martial, for Striking Genl Putnam's Horse, and saying at the same time, 'Dam you who is there, Clear the Road' and for Repeatedly leaving the Camp, without Orders. The Court are of the opinion, that the Prisoner is guilty, of a Breach of the 8^d 15, 16 & 17th articles of War, and adjudged to Receive 39 Lashes on his bare back." †

"HEAD QUARTERS, 2^d Dec. 1775

"Sergeant James King, of Colo Patterson's Regiment, Try'd at the same Genl Court Martial, upon an appeal of a Regimental Court Martial.—the Court whereof is of opinion, that the Prisoner is guilty, of, Being absent from his Regiment, without leave, and of striking, and abusing, Sergeant Goodrich, when in the execution of his Duty, and therefore adjudge the Prisoner, to be reduced to the Ranks, and pay a fine of Twenty Shillings, to be approximated, according to the 51st Article, of the Rules and Regulations of the Army." ‡

* "Washington's Writings," Sparks, vol. iii., p. 287.

† Glover's Orderly Book, under date.

‡ Glover's Orderly Book, under date.

1776 The regiment was constantly engaged in the siege of Boston until it was evacuated. The three regiments commanded by Ward, Putnam, and Paterson were declared to be "the flower of the Continental Army." On the 28th of December the eight regiments then at Cambridge were reorganized, both the men and officers having been satisfied that it was wisest to enlist for a longer period.

On the 1st of January, 1776, the parole was "The Congress," and the countersign "America." On this day the reorganization of the army went into effect. It was, in reality, a new army, with a new flag, for on that day the first striped flag was used at Washington's headquarters in Cambridge. It had thirteen stripes, seven red and six white, to represent the thirteen colonies, with the cross of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground in the upper left-hand corner.

The same day General Howe sent to General Washington the king's speech from the throne in Parliament, announcing that the British nation would never give up the colonies, that both its army and navy had been strengthened, and negotiations commenced for foreign aid, and declaring that "a rebellious war" was carried on to establish an independent empire; it was read in camp. The English authorities thought that this speech would dampen the ardor of the colonists, and when they heard the salute of thirteen guns, and the shouts which accompanied it, they thought it was a token of submission. So great was the indignation of the Americans, however, that they burned the speech, and the troops commenced to substitute for the title "His Gracious Majesty" the epithet of "that man George." The idea of independence was accepted by the troops then and there assembled, but the idea of loyalty was so thoroughly engrafted in the early education of every man, woman, and child, that it was not until long after that the people as a whole accepted it.

In January, 1776, the regiment went into barracks on Prospect Hill. On January 8th it was thought desirable to dis-

lodge the British who occupied houses in Charlestown below 1776
Bunker Hill. This was accomplished between eight and nine
in the evening, without the loss of a man, the regiment show-
ing the greatest prowess, daring, and bravery. On January 24,
the regiments were brigaded, in the following order: Glover,
Paterson, Arnold, Hutching. On February 8d, Colonel Pat-
erson presided at a court-martial. Desertion was not com-
mon, but a case of it which occurred on February 28d met
with severe punishment.

"Feb. 28, 1776.*

"Mark Noble of Capt Nobles Company in Colo Patersons Regt, try'd
by a late Genl Court Martial whereof Colo Phinney was President—
for Desertion is found guilty & sentenced to Receive Fifteen lashes
upon his Bare Back & Mulcted one Month's pay, to defray the Expence
of Apprehending & Bringing the Prisoner to Camp. The General Ap-
proves the sentence & commands the Execution of it at such time &
place as the Colonel of the Regt shall Direct."

On February 27th the victory of Moore's Creek, N. C., took
place, with the capture of two thousand stand of arms and
fifteen thousand pounds in gold, which for the South had the
same effect as Lexington for the North, and resulted in the
raising of ten thousand men, so the British dared not attempt
to try to obtain a foothold there.

On the first day of March, 1776, the colony of South Caro-
lina instructed her delegates in the Continental Congress to
vote for Independence. On the same day some of the captured
cannon and stores from Ticonderoga arrived in Cambridge.
This was a very important addition to their scanty supplies.
It is said that the whole number of cannons which the Revo-
lutionary Army possessed at this time did not exceed ten. On
March 4th it was determined to fortify Dorchester Heights,
and in the night it was done. The attention of the British
had been drawn away from what was going on by a cannonade
from Somerville, East Cambridge, and Roxbury. When, the
next morning, Howe saw what had been done during the night,

* Glover's Orderly Book, under date.

1776 he determined to take the position, and he ordered an attack; but a violent storm, and the recollection of Bunker Hill, made him put it off for so long a time, that the position had become impregnable, and he countermanded his orders.

The following orders show how necessary it was to be on the alert around Cambridge:

"HEAD QUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE,*

"2nd March, 1776.

"Upon any Alarm, Colo Patterson's Regt, is to immediately to Repair to Lechmere's Point, leaving one Capt Two Subbs Two Sergts, & Fifty Rank & File, in the work, leading to the Bridge.

"Colo Bond's Regt is to immediately to march to Cobble Hill, & Colo Sargents Regt to the North, Middle, & South Redoubts. This is to be considered as a Standing Order, until countermanded.

"General Heath's, Sullivan's, Green's, and Trye's Brigades, are in Rotation, to March a Regiment, an hour before Day, every morning into the works on Lechmere's Point, & Cobble Hill; Five companies of which, to go to the Former, & three to the latter. They are to remain in the works until Sunrise.

"The Field Officers, for the Guards, at Lechmere's Point, Cobble & Ploughed Hills, are to consist of Lt Colo & Majors, as those for the Day are Colonels.

"The Commanding Officers, of Regiments, who have neglected to see their Men supplied, with Fascines, are immediately to Order, every Non Commissioned Officer, & soldier, to provide one good Fascine, which is to be put under the Sentry, of the Quat Guard of the Regt "

The following were the orders for the field-officers on the respective dates:

" March 8, 1776.†

" Field Officers for the Day, Colonel Paterson and Colonel Reed."

" March 9th, 1776.†

" Field Officers for the Day, Colonel Little and Colonel Paterson."

" March 13, 1776.†

" Field Officers for the Day, Colos Poor & Paterson."

The alarm signals were to be given by the flag on Prospect Hill.

* Glover's Orderly Book, under date.

† Glover's Orderly Book, under dates.

" March 4, 1776.* 1776

"The flagg, on prospect Hill, & that at the Labratory, on Cambridge Common are Ordered to be Hoisted, only upon a General Alarm: of this, the whole Army, is to take particular Notice, & Immediatly, upon those Colors being Displayed, Every Officer, & Soldier, must repair to his Alarm Post. This, to remain a Standing Order, until the Commander in Chief shall please to Direct other wise."

On March 12th Colonel Paterson issued the discharge papers of a number of soldiers: "This certifies that the within-named persons were soldiers in my regiment until discharged by General Washington.—JOHN PATERSON, Col." On March 13, 1776, he was one of the field-officers. The same day at a council of war "it was concluded that, should Boston be evacuated, it would be unnecessary to employ the army for the defense of Massachusetts, as its militia were adequate for this work." Orders were issued at once for the Massachusetts troops to march for New York, but they did not march until the 18th. The following are the orders:

" Head Quarters, Cambridge, March 14, 1776.†

"Stark's, Paterson's, Webb's, Greateon's, Brooks' Regts, together with two Companies of Artillery, are to march to morrow morning, at 10 o'clock, under the Command of Brigadier Genl Heath, who will Receive his Orders, from the Adjutant Genl, this Evening at Head Quarters. The Q. M. G. will furnish them with wagons, & the Rout by which they will march. The men are to be supplied, with five days provisions, good part of which they will do well to cook, before they leave Cambridge, as there may be difficulty in doing it on the road."

"The Genl again reminds the Officers and Soldiers, of the other Regiments of the Necessity of being ready for a march, as they may not have more than an hours notice."

On the 15th a fire broke out in the regimental barracks, which consumed six rooms and considerable ammunition. Colonel Paterson took charge of putting out the fire, and showed the greatest bravery and personal courage in doing it.

General Washington writes Lord Sterling, commanding officer at New York:

* Glover's Orderly Book, under date.

† Glover's Orderly Book, under date.

1776

" March 14, 1776.*

" I have stronger reasons, since I wrote to you last, to confirm me, in my opinion, that the army, under General Howe, is on its departure. All their movements indicate it; but lest it be a feint, I must continue on my guard, and not weaken my lines too much, until I have a certainty of their departure. It is given out that they are bound to Halifax; but I am of opinion, that New York is their place of destination. It is an object worthy of their attention, and it is the place that we must use every endeavor to keep from them. For should they get that town, and the command of North River they can stop the intercourse between northern and southern colonies, upon which depends the safety of America.

" My feelings upon this subject are so strong, that I do not wish to give the enemy a chance of succeeding at your place. I shall therefore, dispatch a regiment, and some independent companies of riflemen this day; and to-morrow, or as soon as it conveniently can be done, five more regiments will be sent out from this camp. I cannot part with more while the enemy remain in sight; but I have written to Governor Trumbull to send you two thousand men as soon as he possibly can."

The order of March 14th was countermanded as follows:

" March 15, 1776 †

" The Regiments, and Companies of Artillery, mentioned in yesterday's orders, are not to march, before Sun rise to-morrow morning, when everything, belonging to them, is to be ready to move off, the men are not to put their packs in the Carts, their provisions being Carry'd for them, the Gen^l expects every One, to carry his Own pack. Any Officer or Soldier who is known to Committ any waist, or destruction to any of the Barracks, or barrack utensils, upon their Removing will be punished with the utmost severity, the Q. M. G. to order his Assistants to see every Article taken proper care of when troops March."

And were again countermanded the following day:

" March 16, 1776 †

" As the weather is so bad and the Roads so miry the Regts and Companies of Artillery Order'd to march this morning are to Halt until to-morrow morning."

* " Washington's Writings," Sparks, vol. iii., p. 817.

† Glover's Orderly Book, under dates.

The fortifications of the Americans were now commanding the city, and the positions occupied by them made it apparent that Boston could no longer be held. Howe determined to evacuate, but, as he threatened to burn the town if fired on, he was allowed to go unmolested. He left behind him more than two hundred cannon, ten times more powder than the army had ever seen before, and an immense number of muskets, and military stores of all sorts. The British evacuated Boston, March 17, 1776. The same day the definite orders were given to march. 1776

“ March 17, 1776.*

“ Parole,—‘ Boston.’—Sign—‘ St. Patrick’s.’

“ The Regts under marching orders to march to-morrow morning at sunrise.”

The regiments marched for New York on the 18th. They were stationed for a short time on Staten Island, for the defense of New York.

Relieved from the consideration of affairs in the East by the surrender of Boston, Washington turned his attention to New York and the Hudson River. The regiments which had been sent from Boston to New York were always kept on the alert.

“ New York Head Quarters

“ 2 April 1776 †

“ Stark’s, Webb’s, Groaton’s, Paterson’s & Bond’s Regiments, will be under Arms this afternoon on the Common, except those on duty.”

On the fifth day of April, Georgia instructed her delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence, and on April 6th, Congress decided that the commerce of the thirteen colonies was not subject to the king.

On April 5th Colonel Paterson was officer of the day. On April 7th the regiments were brigaded as follows :

* Glover’s Orderly Book, under date.

† Glover’s Orderly Book.

1776

" April 7, 1776.*

"The Regiments are to be brigaded in the following manner till further orders,

Gen ^l Heath	Gen ^l Thompson	L ^d Sterling
Stark	Hand	McDougall
Paterson	Webb	Winds
Greaton	Talcott	Ritzma
Bond	Ward	Wayne
Sullivan		Martin "
Doughty		

On April 10th this arrangement was altered as follows :

" April 10, 1776.†

"The arrival of B. Gen^l Sullivan makes it necessary for a new arrangement of the Brigades, in the following manner,

Gen ^l Heath's	Gen ^l Sullivan's
Col. Greaton	Col. Reed
Paterson	Nixon
Bond	Stark
Baldwin	Poor
	Prescott.
Gen ^l Thompson's	Lord Sterling's
Col. Ward	Col. McDougall
Webb	Arnold
Winds	Dayton
Wayne	Ritzema "

On April 12th the order was again changed.

" April 12, 1776. ‡

"The following alterations to be made. Col. McDougall's Reg^{ts} to join Gen^l Heath's, and Col Paterson's Reg^{ts} Lord Sterling's. . . .

"All the Reg^{ts} and Companies under the immediate Command of Lord Sterling, now in quarters in this City are to hold themselves in Readiness to March at an hour's Warning."

On April 14th North Carolina instructed her delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence, and on May 1st Massachusetts expunged the name of the king from legal proceedings.

* Glover's Orderly Book.

† Glover's Orderly Book.

‡ Glover's Orderly Book.

From very early times, the English considered the control of the Hudson River as essential to their possession of the country. It was a water-way between Canada on the north and the southern colonies by Lake Champlain, and with very little portage a complete one. It communicated with the chain of Great Lakes on the west by the Mohawk River with a very short interval of land carriage, and it thus gave easy access to a very large area of country. They considered the possession of the Hudson as absolutely necessary to their holding the colonies together as one country. 1776

The British had learned all these conditions in the long wars with France, which had only recently terminated. They knew that if they could only hold the Hudson River they could speedily put down the rebellion. They instructed the commanders in 1775 that they must get possession of both New York and Albany, garrison them both with a large force, gain possession of the North River and of the East River at New York, and so defend them that no navigation would be possible except for the king's forces. They expected by this simple device to gain possession of Crown Point and Ticonderoga and to preserve a safe communication with Quebec, and keep the Canadians, who were the least disaffected of all the colonies, loyal, and with their aid and that of the Indians to so harass New Hampshire and Massachusetts and depopulate the country, that they would be glad to yield in a cause which must be made to seem to them hopeless.

This knowledge was not, however, confined to the British. The colonists had done so much fighting in the French and Indian wars that they knew perfectly the value of the river. They also knew that communication between New York and Albany and between Albany and Quebec was a capital point with the British, and that they must, as they held the river, keep possession of it, as, if they lost it, there would not only be complete communication of the British with all the disaffected, but also with the Indians, and thus enfeeble their

1776 efforts for the common preservation and security. Nearly the whole of the Revolutionary War was conducted on both sides with reference to retaining or regaining possession of the navigation of the Hudson.

The British had full control of the sea, so that it was impossible for the colonists to go from one colony to another by the ocean. Communication with each other, therefore, had to be by land. If the British held possession of the Hudson River, the colonies south of New York would be cut off from any communication with New England. The aggrieved people and the Revolutionists were to a very great extent in New England and depended very largely on the sympathy of the other colonies with them in their efforts to obtain redress. The colonies south of New England had fewer grievances, though they knew that what was happening elsewhere might any day become real sources of oppression to them. The British knew that if they could control the navigation of the Hudson River, they could prevent not only the expression of sympathy, but the aid offered to the aggrieved, from reaching them, and that in this way they might crush out any advocacy of the rebellion which should show itself either north or south. As the British held all communication by sea and were in possession of New York harbor, they thought that if they held the river they might compel submission, by making an approach on New England, New York, and the colonies south of it, from Canada. This they tried to do in 1776 and failed. After this, as they held New York, they thought that they could easily enter the river from the west, the north, and the south at the same time. It did not occur to them, that they might fail in the other parts of this enterprise, and from the sea as they had already done from the north.

At the very outset of the struggle, Congress appointed a secret committee and made the defense of the Hudson River and the preparing of obstructions to its navigation one of their duties. The Provincial Congress of New-York made

an elaborate report on the whole subject to the Continental Congress as early as 1775. As the result the secret committee were authorized to commence immediately the erection of forts and the preparation of such obstructions as would prevent the British from navigating the river. It was undoubtedly owing to the fact that we kept possession of it, that we were successful, and the surrender of Burgoyne, which ended the last attempt of the British to cut the colonies in two by securing possession of the Hudson River, was probably owing to the precautions which had been taken to prevent the junction of Howe and Burgoyne. In order to do this, New York in any case must be held, and in order to hold New York it was necessary to fortify Brooklyn Heights. The British had a fleet and 25,000 men, while the Americans had only 5000 in Brooklyn and 4000 more guarding its approaches. General Howe, the commander, attacked the Americans, taking many prisoners, and finally captured New York, and there the British remained, unable to make any further headway. 1776

As it was necessary to have some means of communication with the different colonies, and especially along the Hudson River, in order to convey intelligence of the movements of the enemy, other than by the slow movements of the express riders, the Continental Congress, on the 7th of October, 1775, suggested to the Provincial Congress of New York the expediency of adopting by the colonies of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, a series of signals to be used in cases of alarm of any kind, and especially to give notice of movements of the enemy.

On October 17, 1775, New York adopted the plan of erecting beacons at convenient places and distances throughout the colony, to give alarm in case of invasion, or as a signal for the meeting of the minute-men, and resolved that when convenient places for the erection of beacons could not be found, signals from cannon be used in place of the beacons, and that some fit person be employed to make proper arrangements for the purpose and to report to the Congress. For the pur-

1776 pose of carrying intelligence in case of invasion, it was recommended that the county committees engage some person who should live on or near the most public roads, to have a horse in readiness to convey intelligence, and that the stages to be fixed for each messenger should not be more than ten or fifteen miles. Copies of these resolutions, as also those of the Continental Congress, were forwarded to the Assembly of Connecticut and the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, with a letter requesting advice on the whole subject. A letter was sent at the same time to the colonels of militia and minute-men, stating that directions would be given for the erection of beacons and the placing of cannon, so that in case of alarm there could be no mistake as to the meaning of the signal. The plan met with acquiescence and was immediately carried into effect.

In the spring of 1776, General Washington advised the Convention of New York to adopt a plan for conveying intelligence of the approach of the enemy's fleet, and suggested that the Convention should employ the same in calling out the militia under its control. This was, that on the appearance of any number of ships from one to six, towards the port of New York by day, a large flag should be hoisted over the Highlands of Neversink; if from six to twenty, two flags, and if any greater number, three flags; the flag-staffs to be arranged from east to west and twenty yards apart. The signal might be given by an equal number of fires, arranged in the same manner. These signals were to be repeated, both day and night, on the heights of Staten Island. A good lookout was always to be kept, and in addition to this an express was to be sent to the commander-in-chief. They prepared for the day signals, large ensigns with broad stripes of red and white. On the appearance of these signals, the country was to take alarm and communicate it as quickly as possible to other stations.

In 1777 Lord Sterling, commanding at Albany, ordered the erection of beacons at alarm points in accordance with this

plan. They were erected on the hills from the frontier posts in Westchester to Beacon Hill below Fishkill, and from there east into Connecticut and south and west through New York to Morristown, Pluckemin, and Millbrook, and to the Never-sink Hills at Sandy Hook. They consisted of flags and cannon by day and fires and alarm cannon by night, and were so arranged as to distinguish the point where attack was expected. The beacons were fourteen feet square at the base, eighteen to twenty feet high, and six feet square at the top. They were constructed of logs, with a sapling in the center, with the branches still on, whose top was thirty feet from the ground. A pyramid of logs was thus formed. The first signal given was to be answered by the others and action was to be taken at once. Copies of any orders issued on account of any such signals were to be sent to all the commanding officers in the vicinity. They were probably first used when the English moved on Forts Clinton and Montgomery. In 1779 General McDougall ordered them discontinued, and guns and express riders only used. He ordered that three cannon be fired for five top-sail vessels every five minutes; for ten vessels four, or for a greater number than ten, one for every five; these signals to be repeated as well as reported. When there was a likelihood of the signal not being heard at the next station, riders were to be sent. 1776

The British plan for 1776 was, for General Carlton to come down from Canada, recapture Ticonderoga, and take possession of the Mohawk, and for General Howe to capture and hold New York, and by controlling the great water-line to effectually cut the county in two. Washington saw this danger, and in order to prevent the British from carrying out their designs, nine forts were erected on different sides of the river to prevent them from passing up the stream from New York. These were Fort Washington (Map No. 7) near Bloomingdale, and Fort Lee on the Palisades on the opposite side of the river; Fort Lafayette, opposite Stony Point on the east side; Fort Independence, above Peekskill; Fort Constitution, oppo-

1776 site to West Point on the west side; Forts Clinton and Montgomery, opposite to Anthony's Nose; and Forts Putnam and Clinton, below and above West Point. Besides these, obstructions were placed in the channel of the river at different places and at different times, as it seemed necessary. To prevent the invasion from the north, he determined to reinforce Ticonderoga, and to obstruct the navigation of the Hudson to protect the Highlands from danger.

There were four principal points at which at different times it was thought to be absolutely necessary to obstruct the navigation of the river. The first was at Fort Washington, the second at Fort Montgomery, the third at Pollopel's Island, just below Fishkill, and the last at West Point. A not very successful attempt was made in 1776 to use fire-ships and rafts to destroy the British fleet, and after this a *cheveaux de frise* was constructed between Fort Lee and Fort Washington. As it was found that the depth of water there did not exceed forty feet, and the width was but 1800 yards, it was thought that by placing either a *cheveaux de frise* or sunken vessels in the channel at a point so far to the south, the English men-of-war could be kept out of the Highlands altogether. It was also proposed to use fire-ships with them. As the operations were slow, it was proposed to use with them ships that were sunk. The *cheveaux de frise* was made by sinking two ships with their sterns towards each other about seventy feet apart. To each of these three large logs, which reached from stern to stern, were fastened. This stopped the river for 280 feet. When the ships were sunk, pikes, consisting of large logs pointed with iron, were fastened to them and raised so as to make a complete obstruction to the whole channel.

Almost the first act of Washington on his arrival in New York, on April 13, 1776, was to send four battalions to the relief of the army in Canada, under the command of Brigadier-General Thompson, and among these was Colonel Paterson's regiment. They were some of the strongest regiments in the army. The order for their transportation is as follows:

"NEW YORK HEAD QUARTERS 15 April, 1776 * 1776

"The Qu. M. Gen^l is immediately to provide Transports to convey the Regim^{ts} to Albany.

"Poors' & Paterson's, Greateon's & Bond's Reg^{ts} are to hold themselves in readiness to embark at an hours Warning,—they are to take with them their Camp Equipage, which the Qu. M. Gen^l will furnish, taking a Rec^t of each Regt. for the Tents, & supply each Regt."

. In order to prepare for the moving of the regiments the following orders were issued :

"15 April 1776 †

"The officers & soldiers of Poor's, Paterson's, Greateons & Bonds Regts to be immediately taken off duty."

"April 16, 1776 ‡

"After this hour, it is strictly enjoined upon the officers to see that their Rolls are call'd, and their Men in Quarters. Gen^l Thompson will hasten the embarkation of the Reg^{ts} for Albany, as fast as possible, and is to fix with the Muster Mr General Mr. Moyland upon a time and place for Mustering of them.

"These Regiments may be embarked and sent off at one time or otherwise as it can be done quickest. The General is to set out with the last. The Colonels to prepare their Muster Rolls immediately."

In order to render the march less fatiguing, they sailed from New York on April 21st, and went up the Hudson to Albany, to be under General Gates. On the 23d Washington announced the departure of these troops, with great pride, to the Continental Congress :

"I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that the four regiments designed for Canada embarked yesterday with a fair wind for Albany, under the Command of Colonels Greateon, Paterson, Bond, and Poor; besides which there was a company of riflemen, a company of artificers, and two engineers, the whole commanded by Brigadier General Thompson." §

* Glover's Orderly Book.

† Glover's Orderly Book.

‡ Glover's Orderly Book.

§ Gen. Washington to President of Congress; dated New York, April 22, 1776. "Washington's Writings," Sparks, vol. iii., p. 365.

1776 On May 4th they were at Fort George and ten days later reported at St. John on the Sorrel River.

Colonel Paterson's regiment then had six hundred men in fine condition and well equipped, but before it arrived in Canada General Montgomery had fallen, and Arnold, wounded, had retreated to Montreal. They were too late to participate in any action or share any glory which might have been won if they had arrived sooner, but were in plenty of time to share the sufferings of the rest of the troops. Early in May they were in Montreal, where they suffered severely from the small-pox, which made such ravages that on the 7th of May the whole regiment was ordered to be vaccinated.

Putnam, in a letter to Washington, dated at headquarters, New York, May 27th, says that the night before an express had arrived from Canada, bringing a letter from General Thompson, at Chambly, of the date of May 14th, and mentions "that Col. Groaton's, and part of Col. Bond's regiments, had gone forward. Colonel Paterson was at Montreal, and Col. Poor at Ticonderoga, waiting for provisions."

On May 15th Virginia instructed her delegates to vote for the declaration that the United Colonies were "free and independent States." On June 7th resolutions that "these United Colonies are, of right, and ought to be, free and independent States," were introduced in Congress. On June 14th Connecticut instructed her delegates to vote for independence. On June 16th the British retook Crown Point. On July 2d Congress declared by vote, "the Independence of these Colonies," and on July 4, 1776, the first public announcement of independence was made. On July 15th Delaware voted for independence.

While most of these occurrences were favorable to the cause of the colonies, the condition of our armies in the north was most pitiable. On the following page are given the hospital returns of Colonel Paterson's regiment for July.

July, 1776. 1776

Return of the sick of the General Hospital at Fort George, from the 12th to the 26th July, 1776, inclusive* :

REGIMENTS.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Died.	Deserted.	Remaining.
Colonel Paterson's.....	73	26	8	..	39

On June 24, 1776, General Sullivan wrote to Washington, from Isle-aux-Noix, as follows :

"The raging of the small-pox deprives us of whole regiments in the course of a few days by their being taken down with that cruel disorder. But this is not all. The camp disorder rages to such a degree that of the remaining regiments from fifty to sixty in each are taken down in a day, and we have nothing to give them but salt pork, flour, and the poisonous waters of this Lake. . . . I enclose your Excellency a general return drawn from the returns made day before yesterday ; since which I suppose a quarter part have been taken down with the Camp disorder. . . . There is no return of Col. Paterson's Regiment, as he has but five men here fit for duty, which I this day ordered to Crown Point to join the rest of the Regiment which are all sick there."

John Adams visited the camp, and wrote as follows under date of July 7, 1776 :

"Our army at Crown Point is an object of wretchedness enough to fill a humane mind with horror ; disgraced, defeated, discontented, dispirited, diseased, naked, undisciplined, eaten up with vermin, no clothes, beds, blankets, no medicines, no victuals but salt pork and flour. . . . I hope that measures will be taken to cleanse the army at Crown Point from the small-pox, and that other measures will be taken in New England, by tolerating and encouraging inoculation, to render the disease less terrible."

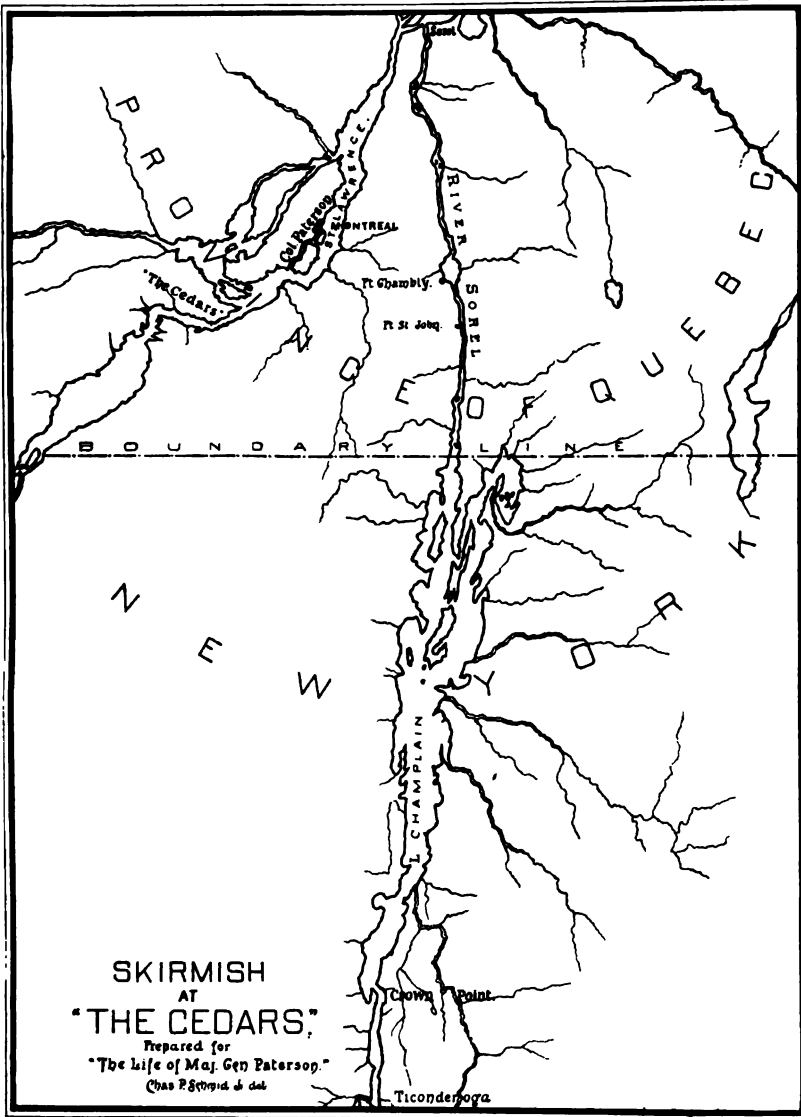
The process of inoculation, which had been introduced from Turkey by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, consisted of infecting the patient with the genuine small-pox virus after

* "Notes on the History of Fort George." By B. F. De Costa.

1776 his system had been prepared for it, and by a specific treatment afterward. Of course there was a very small percentage of deaths under the treatment, which needed the most assiduous and skillful medical attendance; but in the way small-pox then ravaged the country at frequent intervals it was more safe to risk the disease in this form than when encountered naturally without preparation. But ordinary men fear more an immediate certain danger than that which is distant and uncertain, although in reality more terrible. Thus in Berkshire, while Dr. Timothy Childs, of Pittsfield, surgeon of General Paterson's first regiment, had urgently advised inoculation, the popular prejudice against it was so great that it was only possible by great effort sometimes to get the permission of a Berkshire town to permit the establishment of a small-pox hospital for inoculation. Many of the better informed people of the country protected themselves by this process in a hospital at Sheffield, and Colonel Paterson was probably among them, as he did not suffer from the disease, to which he was greatly exposed. In a letter written by General Arnold to the Commissioners in Canada, dated Sorel, May 7, 1776, he says: "I think it advisable to inoculate Colonel Paterson's regiment at Montreal, Colonel Bedel's at the Cedars, and the troops posted at La Prairie and Longuiel at Sorel; and to send all the troops at Montreal who have had the small-pox to Sorel; and to send 500 or 600 from Sorel to Montreal, because of the difficulty of providing quarters for so many at Sorel." By this time they knew that the Canada expedition was hopeless, for on May 6th the British fleet appeared in the St. Lawrence, reinforcements to the extent of 13,000 men under Burgoyne had arrived, and retreat was inevitable.

On its arrival in Canada, the brigade, which was commanded by General William Thompson, of Pennsylvania, was scattered at different points. Colonel Paterson, with his regiment, was ordered to take post and command at Montreal. On May 14th they were still in Montreal, waiting for pro-

MAP NO. 3.



visions; on June 8th Colonel Paterson was at Sorel and had only six men fit for duty; all the rest were in the hospital sick from inoculation. Towards the last of the month our forces met with a severe reverse in the engagement known as the skirmish of "the Cedars," in which a portion of Colonel Paterson's regiment was engaged, and in which the British employed Indians, who butchered in cold blood; the regiment, although showing prodigies of valor, lost heavily in killed and wounded, and sixty-seven were taken prisoners.

A detachment of Americans, under Major Butterfield, of New Hampshire, was attacked by British and Indians at Cedar Rapids, some distance west of Montreal. The Major surrendered without resistance, his superior officer, Colonel Bedell, having returned to Montreal. When Colonel Paterson heard that the post at Cedar Rapids was in danger, he immediately despatched about one hundred and fifty men of his own regiment, under his Major, Henry Sherburne, to reinforce Major Butterfield. He arrived too late, however, and instead of affording relief, was himself attacked by the enemy. Sherburne defended himself with great bravery, but was ambushed, and his party taken prisoners.

Colonel Paterson immediately reported the situation to General Arnold at Sorel, who vigorously attempted to rescue the prisoners, but without success.

The following reference to the affair appears in a letter from Captain Charles Cushing, of Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts's regiment, dated Camp at Crown Point, July 8, 1776:

* "We had been at Sorel [see Map No. 8] but ten days, when our regiment was ordered up to Montreal, forty-five miles above, on the St. Lawrence. Colonel Paterson's regiment, which arrived at St. John's in two days after ours, was directly ordered from there to Montreal by land, about twenty-five miles across; and soon after, Major Sherburne [of Colonel Paterson's], with one hundred and twenty men, was detached to Cedars to the assistance of Colonel Bedell's party [under Major Butterfield], and another party was left as a guard to La Prairie. Colonel Paterson's regiment was now so reduced by detach-

* From Force's Archives, fifth series, vol. v., p. 129.

1776 ments that it was expected the inhabitants of Montreal would rise, as it was easily perceived they were making preparations. Our regiment was now under the necessity of getting there as fast as possible. . . . As soon as they came into the city, they were so fatigued as to lie immediately down under the walls to sleep, and some lay there until morning, it being impossible to move them. But happily that they arrived as they did, for that night was appointed for the Tories to take possession of the place." . . .

In June they retreated by way of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. On June 28th the battle at Fort Moultrie, S. C., saved that State from any further depredations for two years, but it helped the other colonies but little.

On July 20th, Colonel Paterson was at Fort Stanwex, and was president of a court-martial. On August 11th the countersign was "Philadelphia." and the parole "Dickerson." "The guard was relieved by the Fourth Brigade. Col. Wingate's and Col. Wyman's regiments, of the New Hampshire militia, are to be considered as part of Col. Stark's Brigade and to obey his orders. Col. Paterson is to take command of the Second Brigade during the absence of Col. Reed." *

On August 27th, occurred the famous battle of Long Island, which, though a defeat, Washington turned to such account as to make him able to win the glorious victories of Trenton and Princeton. His famous retreat from Long Island, as also his crossing the Delaware only a few months afterwards, was made possible by the splendid behavior of the Marblehead fishermen of Colonel Glover's Essex County regiment, who had enlisted on the alarm from Lexington, and fought through the war.

On the 20th of September, 1776, anticipating an attack from the English war-vessels, Washington sent a request to the Convention that they would send fire-ships to Fort Washington, which were to be used in case the British attempted to ascend the river. The fire-ships were prepared but were not used. On September 23, 1776, the secret committee

* American Archives, p. 1125.

were empowered to impress and pay for six vessels to complete the obstructions at Fort Washington and to prepare fire-ships and rafts to oppose the passage of the British up the river. The resolution ordered that the vessels should be impressed, but also ordered that a just and equitable price should be paid for them. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, the obstruction was very imperfect. The fact that only two of the ships had been sunk and that the rest of the obstruction had been prepared with great haste, made it of little value, for on the 9th of October two British vessels passed up the river as if there had been no obstacle there, for the vessels not only received no damage but did not even fire a gun. As the vessels contained troops, it was expected that they would make an attempt to land, so that the militia-men were ordered out to protect the shores. Fortunately, the vessels went only a short distance up the river, and the anticipations of a severe contest were not fulfilled. As soon as the vessels had returned to their original position, the efforts to complete the fortifications and obstructions at Fort Montgomery were redoubled. Four of the six vessels which had been seized for the obstruction of the river below were not used. Immediately after the news of the passage of the vessels up the river was received, the Continental Congress passed an order, directing General Washington "by every effort and at whatever expense to obstruct effectually the navigation of North River between Fort Washington and Fort Constitution, as well as to prevent the regress of the enemy's frigates, lately gone up, as to hinder them from receiving succor." But the capture of Fort Washington and the evacuation of Fort Lee occurred so soon after that no attempt was made to carry out this order. Fort Washington was captured by the British on the 16th of November, 1776. The loss of the Americans in these encounters was not more than one hundred. The British lost nearly a thousand men. They proceeded at once to remove the obstructions and demolish Fort Lee on the opposite side of the river. In order to prevent them from coming

1776 any higher from the south, in July, 1776, obstructions were placed at Fort Montgomery, and in 1777 and 1778 at Pollopel's Island to oppose their approach from the north, if they should gain control of the northern part of the river.

Three things contributed to this disaster,—first, the meddling of Congress with Washington's plans; second, the want of comprehension of the situation by Green, for he reinforced the fort, owing to the resolution of Congress, when the case was hopeless; and third, the insubordination of Lee, who was already commencing to execute his traitorous designs, which culminated in the battle of Monmouth. The fall of the fort and the capture of its garrison was one of the most crushing blows of the whole Revolution, and came very near wrecking the whole cause of American independence, but the great wisdom of Washington was equal to the emergency.

In a letter of General Gates to the President of Congress, dated at Ticonderoga, September 30, 1776, he says: "I must also do justice to the merit and long services of Col. Philip De Haas by recommending him to Congress as deserving promotion. Col. Enoch Poor, of New Hampshire, and Col. John Paterson, of Massachusetts, are also deserving officers, worthy the notice of Congress." * Colonel Paterson's name here, contrary to the general rule, is spelled correctly with one *t*.

Up to about this time all that had been done was in the hope of getting redress. The king had, however, refused to receive the delegation sent to him, either as representatives of the colonies or as individuals, and had besides hired German soldiers to subdue them; and this last act was what made the immediate declaration of independence possible. The idea of separation, even after the wanton burning of Portland on October 16, 1775, found few supporters; but when the news of the hiring of 20,000 Hessians came, every one was ready for it. This act of sending mercenaries against them seems to have operated more powerfully than any other single thing on the minds of the people, and made them more determined than

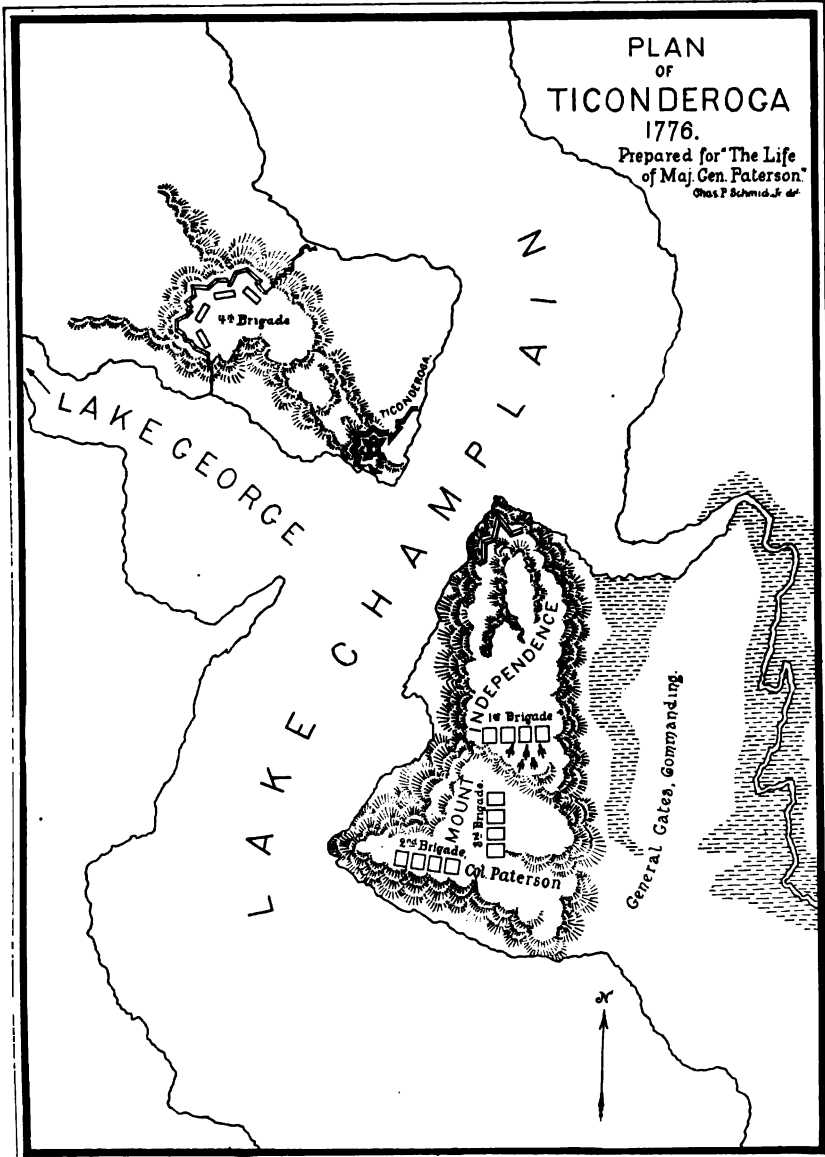
* American Archives, fifth series, vol. ii., p. 615.

ever to resist. As if to complete the dissatisfaction already existing, Parliament also proposed an act closing all American ports and authorizing the confiscation not only of all American ships and cargoes, but those of any neutral nation which should dare to trade with them as well. It directed the commanders of all British vessels to impress all seamen on American ships. In March Congress retaliated by opening the ports of the colonies to all nations, authorized the issuing of letters of marque, and ordered all Tories who refused to contribute to the common defense to be disarmed. This was virtually, but not actually, a declaration of war, but Congress waited before declaring it for instructions from the colonies. The first step was taken by North Carolina on February 27, 1776, where the victory of Moore's Creek had the same effect as the battle of Lexington in Massachusetts. Within ten days an army of ten thousand militia was raised. They organized a Provincial Congress, and instructed the delegates in the Continental Congress to act with the other colonies, and so all the colonies came into line in a common cause against a common enemy. On the 15th of May Congress recommended all the colonies to form an independent government and to choose their own; and they acted very promptly, and in less than six weeks the governments were formed, delegates to the Continental Congress appointed, and instructed to vote for independence. These governments solemnly promulgated the Declaration of Independence, and then, amid the huzzas of the crowds who assembled to hear it, solemnly removed the insignia of royalty from all the places where the king's authority had been previously recognized, and burned them in the public streets amid the acclamations of the citizens. New York was the last to accept the Declaration of Independence. That State, however, adopted it on July 9th, and celebrated the occasion by melting down the leaden statue of King George III. on the Bowling Green in New York City and casting it into 42,500 bullets. On the same day Washington ordered the Declaration of Independence to be read at the head of each brigade. The Declaration of Inde-

1776 pence was made only after eleven years of constant and unprovoked irritation. So extreme had been the forbearance and determination to bear and suffer so long as there was any hope of redress, that it was interpreted as a sign of weakness. The Revolution was declared to be the intrigue of a few instead of the determination of a free people to be and to remain free. Years before they had written to Parliament: "We rode out the dangers of the seas; shall we perish in port?" Parliament never answered the question, and now they answered it themselves by the Declaration of Independence. It was a declaration that the people were unanimous in the determination that Great Britain should abandon her pretended right to impose taxes and revoke charters, and never in the darkest days of the Revolution did one of the States propose to reconsider their action. Washington, on taking command of the army on July 3, 1775, had raised a flag with thirteen stripes, representing the thirteen colonies, but it retained the cross of St. George. When on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was received with every sign of joyful approval, as if it had been a decree promulgated from heaven, this cross was replaced by thirteen stars.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point had surrendered to us on May 11, 1775. It was the strategic center of the whole north country, commanding as it does the approaches to the Hudson River. On that day the Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia, and two or three days later St. John's also surrendered to our forces, but after a siege of fifty days surrendered again to the British on November 3d. These victories gave the army great quantities of military stores, guns, and cannon. In their retreat from Canada by way of Crown Point under the command of General Gates, Colonel Paterson's regiment, which was in the 3d Brigade, occupied and strongly fortified Mount Independence,* on the other side of the bay and opposite to Ticonderoga, and remained there during the summer. On August 24th Colonel Paterson was put in the 2d Brigade. On September 22d he was ordered to Fort George. On October 16th he commenced to build bar-

* Map No. 4.



racks at Fort George and at Stillwater. When Crown Point 1776 was taken and abandoned by the enemy, Colonel Paterson, who had on September 30th been recommended to Congress for promotion, was already doing the duty of a general. On October 16th the army was preparing to build barracks at Fort George and Stillwater. On October 26th all the brigades were ordered to go to him for orders in case of any general alarm. The bridge which connected the fort with the mainland was broken away by heavy storms of wind and rain; but afterward, the cold being very great, the lake froze, and the communication was made over the ice. On November 17th the regiment was still at Mount Independence, and contained 331 men fit for duty. The British plan of campaign for the year 1776, was that General Carlton should come down from Canada through Lake Champlain, retake all the towns captured the previous year, gain possession of the Hudson River, and occupy Albany. General Sir William Howe was to capture New York and reinforce him from the south, and thus, with full possession of the Hudson, cut the colonies in two and put an end to the rebellion. Both parts of this plan were being carried out. Sir William Howe captured New York City in August. General Carlton had met with every success. Arnold's brilliant achievements on Lake Champlain delayed Carlton so much that, fearing being caught by the ice, he suddenly abandoned his part of it and went into winter quarters, thus enabling Schuyler to send reinforcements to Washington, who was retreating through New Jersey. Among others was Colonel Paterson's regiment, so that the brilliant battles of Trenton and Princeton added great courage to our despondent forces. On November 18th, with parole "The Congress" and countersign "Independence," they were ordered to embark at Lake George as soon as boats could be provided for them. On the 19th Colonel Paterson sent all the baggage of his regiment to Lake George landing. As there were only boats enough to embark his regiment, he started, while the other regiments awaited the arrival of fresh boats. A few days later

1776 they left there and came down with Gates and his command to Saratoga. On November 24th General Gates put his corps under orders for Albany. The regiments with him, of which Colonel Paterson's was one, did not average more than three hundred men fit for duty, so great had been the ravages of disease among them. On November 19th Colonel Paterson had reported 331 men fit for duty in his regiment. They were enlisted only until the end of the year. He was short of provisions, and was fearful for the safety of Washington. On November 26th he left Saratoga for Albany, where he received orders to reinforce General Washington. They left Albany December 3d. They were to have gone direct to New Windsor by water, but as vessels enough for that purpose could not be procured, they went to Esopus by sloop; from there they marched to New Windsor. On December 8th they were at Peekskill. From there they went to Goshen, expecting to rendezvous at Sussex Court-house on December 14th. They passed through the Minnisink country; then through Sussex County. On December 20, 1776, they halted at Morristown, and then, crossing the river at Easton, joined Washington's army, which was retreating through New Jersey, at Newton, Penn., on the west bank of the Delaware. Colonel Paterson reported with 220 out of the 600 men in the well-appointed regiment with which he left New York on April 21st for the northern campaign. The others had been killed in the various encounters, been tomahawked by savages, taken prisoners by the enemy, or had died from want of proper care, from the ravages of small-pox, or from exposure. Most of them had no tents and had left their homes without any other covering than their ordinary clothing. It needed the conviction that they were fighting for a great principle to keep any of them alive. There were many widows whose husbands had enlisted in that regiment, hoping for a short, decisive, but victorious war, and expecting to return to their farms when the war was over, but who never reached even Newton; and many were the women left with a family of small children who cleared their farms, and, suffering all the privations of early settlers, brought up their families, giving

them good educations and making them loving and dutiful 1776
children and loyal and useful citizens. Little do the men of
this generation know what it cost the wives, mothers, and
daughters of that generation. They do not get the praise,
but they are entitled to it, for they gave the education in
great principles and the encouragement to act as brave men
which made heroes out of their husbands, sons, and brothers;
while their names are lost, the great principles which they
sowed have taken root all over the world. There is no honor
too great to be shown to those wives, mothers, daughters, and
sisters. Yet how little we hear of the women of the Ameri-
can Revolution. The influence which the women of that time
had upon political events cannot be overestimated. The pri-
vations and dangers and sufferings came to them in a much
more vivid way than they came to the soldiers, for they at least
had the solace of excitement, while the women had no such
stimulus to aid them. But they were as patriotic as the men.
The mothers urged their sons, the wives their husbands, and
the daughters their brothers, to join in this great movement for
a free government, in the full realization that, whatever *they*
might suffer, their descendants would reap the benefits, which
could not be estimated.

RETURN OF COLONEL PATERSON'S REGIMENT AS REORGANIZED FOR SERVICE DURING THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR, 1778.

Colonel : John Paterson.

Lieut.-Colonel : Seth Read.

Major : Henry Sherburn, of Rhode Island.

Chaplain : Rev. David Avery.

Surgeon : Timothy Childs.

Adjutant : William Walker.

Mate : Jonathan Lee.

Quartermaster : Gerard Fitch.

STAFF {

Captains :

David Noble,
John McInstry,
Samuel Sloan,
Samuel Sayer,
William Wymann,
Ebenezer Sullivan,
Moses Ashley,
Theodore Bliss.

First Lieutenants :

Wm. Augustus Patterson,
Thomas McInstry,
Peter White,
Samuel Chapin,
John Bacon,
Joseph Welch,
William Walker,
Edward Cumpeton.

Second Lieutenants :

Soloman Martin,
John Pennoyer,
Jehiel Jackson,
Jeremiah Littlefield,
Joshua Traston,
Nathan Lord,
Jeremiah Miller,
Robert Davis.

Ensigns :

Matthias Hall,
Gerard Fitch,
David Johnson,
Samuel Stevens,
Belcher Hancock,
Joseph Johnson,
Job Priest,
John Arnold.

Notes on foregoing regiment, 1778 :

The Army around Boston was reorganized for 1778, and Col. Paterson's regiment re-enlisted with a new arrangement of field and line officers. From Boston it was ordered to brigade under General Joseph Fry, and on the 10th of April, 1778, to New York. Paterson's regiment, with three others, were ordered to Northern Department. The brigade as in 1777, consisted of Brigadier-General William Thompson, of Pennsylvania. In the Northern Department it came under the general command of Major-General Schuyler, and after reaching Montreal it formed part of General Sullivan's army. In the summer of 1778 our forces fell back to Concord, N.H., and Paterson's regiment was assigned to the second of the four brigades which were reorganized at that point. This was posted on Mt. Independence under the command of Colonel Reed, of New Hampshire. At this post the brigade helped construct works. The entire force was commanded by Major-General Gates, who supplied the army with food and clothing. In November, 1778, the regiment was ordered with others to join Washington's army in New Jersey, and participated in the battles of Red Bank and Red Bank. In these actions the regiment served General St. Clair's brigade in General Sullivan's division. The army went on to Middletown, N. J., where the regiment for 1779 were disbanded, their term having expired. A new army was then enlisted, and Colonel Paterson proposed to continue in service.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM TRENTON TO VALLEY FORGE.

THOSE December Days of 1776 were days of great discour- 1776
agement. Fort Washington had been taken by the British on
November 16th. It was one of the worst blows of the whole
war. In full retreat, General Lee, who was then considered
the best officer of the army, was a prisoner. The army had
been defeated in the northern campaign. Canada had been
abandoned. Many of the men had lost heart; they were dis-
couraged and homesick. The terms of enlistment of most of
the men were expiring, so that in about ten days Washington
would have only 1400 men, miserably provided for, and many
of them were unwilling to re-enlist. The war had opened two
years before with the enthusiasm which can only be generated
by the conviction that there are great wrongs to be redressed,
or great rights to be asserted. Money was raised without
trouble, men enlisted of their own accord, were urged to en-
list by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, or were com-
pelled to enlist by public sentiment. The war was to be short;
patriotism and self-sacrifice were to be triumphant; the coun-
try was to emerge soon from a great struggle, and to become
at once prosperous. This was the ideal; but when, after
months of toil, sacrifice, and suffering, it was plain that the
war was to continue for no one could tell how long, it became
difficult to procure men. Values, which are so sensitive in
the face of uncertainties, fell; prices rose. The contractor
grew rich, the patriot became poor. Those who had been car-
ried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, or who had been

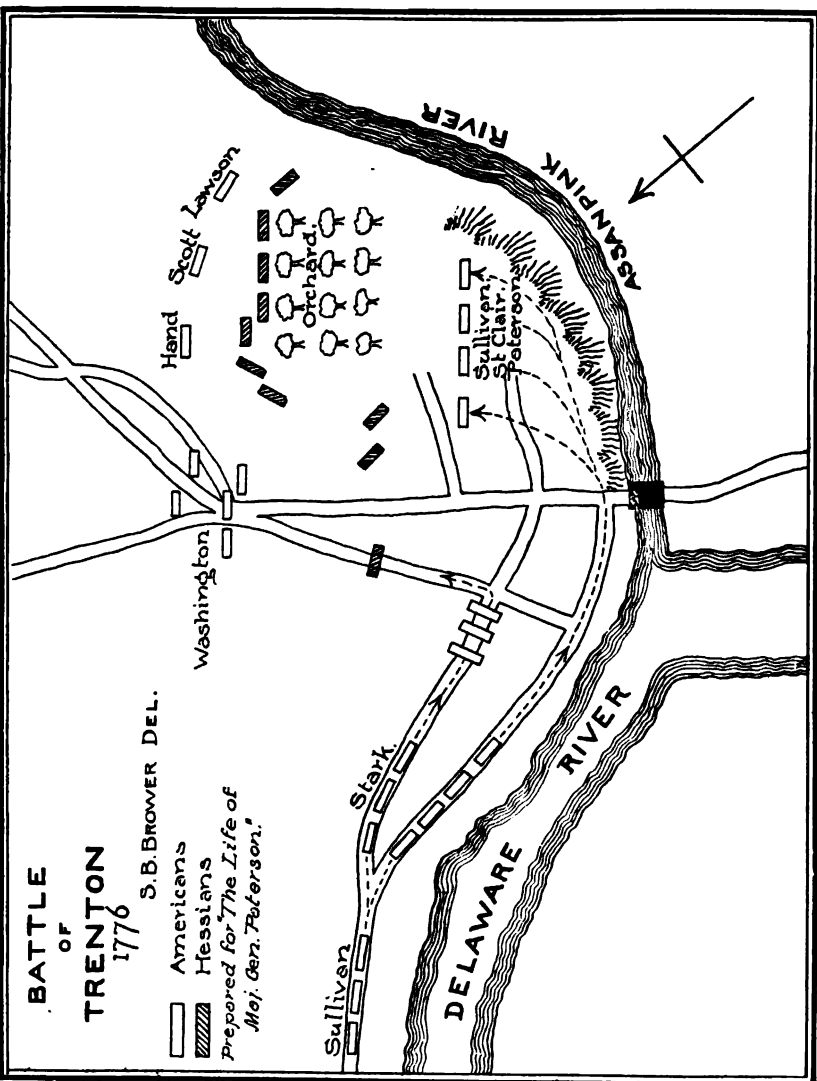
1776 forced to be patriotic from fear of public opinion, grew tired of the war. It was already a failure, they said, and "the peace at any price" party began to be powerful. This was the hour of trial, and the real patriots, such as Washington, General Paterson, and thousands of others, became stronger in their devotion to their country than ever before. General Lee began to conspire, and the arguments and trials which make traitors like Arnold and Lee were in full force. Under these very discouraging circumstances Washington determined on a most brilliant project, which saved the army and that campaign. The British were in winter quarters, comfortably settled, and could not be easily called together on any sudden alarm. The Hessians were on the east bank of the Delaware. Lord Cornwallis, sure that "there was no spirit left in the rebel army," had asked leave of absence, to return to England. Washington had between 5000 and 6000 men fit for service, and with these he proposed to cross the river at different points and attack the Hessians. He seized all the boats he could use for many miles up and down the river, and those he could not use he destroyed, and made the crossing on Christmas Eve in a heavy storm. Paterson's regiment crossed the river with 170 men present for duty. It was in St. Clair's brigade, which was the reserve on the river road, and in Sullivan's command. Washington had selected his best officers to go with him, and with only 2400 men in his whole command, many of whom failed to join him on account of the cold and the wind, in a storm of hail and snow, on Christmas Day, routed the British forces completely. He gave his soldiers the countersign "Victory or Death." He took nearly 1000 prisoners and 32 officers. He went back after the battle to the west side of the river. The Hessians, who were hated in New Jersey on account of the outrages they had committed there, were sent at once to Pennsylvania. The others were guarded and kindly treated. On the 29th the troops recrossed the river to the east side. Owing to the ice in the river, the crossing occupied two days. They were at the end of the year. The time of enlistment of the best troops was up. In the face of the enemy, in im-

BATTLE OF TRENTON 1776

S.B. BROWER DEL.

-  Americans
-  Hessians

Prepared for "The Life of
Maj. Gen. Peterson."



minent danger, they were persuaded to re-enlist. The days 1777 that were lost in the crossing and recrossing of the Delaware had given the enemy time to collect their forces. Lord Cornwallis was advancing on Trenton with 7000 or 8000 men. Washington could not retreat without destroying all hope of future success. He could only collect 3600 men. He stationed himself on the east side of the Assanpink River at a small stone bridge. See Map No. 5. Lord Cornwallis advanced to this point, but was so harassed and delayed by the condition of the roads that he did not reach it until nearly sunset of January 2, 1777. He at once commenced a brisk fire over the river, which he kept up until dark, but was repeatedly repulsed in his attempts to cross, and when night came both parties rested, waiting for the decisive action of the next day. Our forces were in a desperate state. There was only a small stream, which was easily fordable in several places, between them and a much superior force. To risk a general action was to insure defeat. Retreat over the Delaware was impossible on account of the ice. There was no way but to go forward. The weather in the morning had been so mild that a thaw had set in, but toward night it froze hard. Keeping up all the appearances of fortifying the camp within sight of the British with much noisy demonstration on their river-front, the army was moved, in the middle of the night, toward Princeton. The 17th, 40th, and 55th British regiments were stationed at Princeton. See Map No. 6. During the day Cornwallis sent for the 17th and 55th regiments to reinforce his troops. The 17th had left Princeton for that purpose, and the 55th was preparing to leave when they were attacked by our troops. Generals Sterling and St. Clair, and Colonels Poor, Paterson, and Reed, advanced on the 55th (British) regiment, which could only retreat toward Trenton. Being closely pressed by our forces, the 55th occupied a position on the high sloping ground immediately south of Nassau Hall, of the College of New Jersey, where a ravine separated them from the Americans. The latter gained the main street in front of the college, the doors of the building were forced,

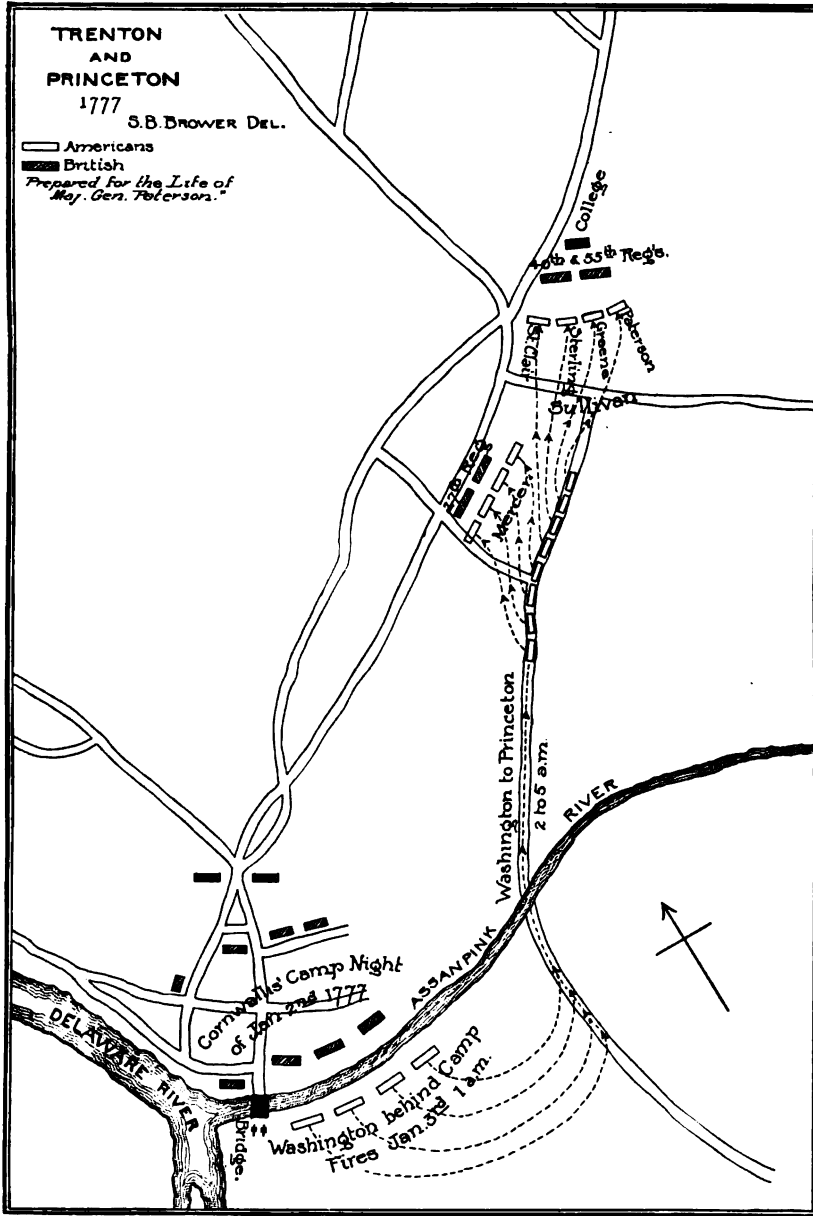
1777 and the 55th and 40th (British) regiments attempted to escape to New Brunswick, from which place Cornwallis's movement against Trenton had been made, but after a very short but severe engagement were captured.

In this fight of January 3d, known as the battle of Princeton, Colonel Paterson and his regiment acted with distinguished bravery. Lord Cornwallis felt so sure of an easy victory in the morning that he rested on the east bank of the river, and had gone to sleep on the evening of January 2d in perfect security, certain that early on the following day he would capture the whole of the American army and have the glory of having completely crushed the rebellion. On the morning of January 3d he found the army gone, and by noon of that day he was in the greatest anxiety for fear that all of his stores at Brunswick were in great danger and perhaps captured, and he retreated in hot haste, without even an engagement, to find his supplies were safe, but his prestige gone. The British were completely routed, and lost over 100 men in killed and wounded, and 230 were taken prisoners, including 14 officers. The American loss was very much smaller.

Of these famous battles Colonel Paterson's chaplain says :

"More than a thousand Hessians readily fell into our hands at Trenton. The tidings flew upon the wings of the wind and at once revived the hopes of the fearful, which had almost fled ! How sudden the transition from darkness to light ; from grief to joy ! Jehovah Jireh : in the mount, the Lord will be seen ! Record it, O my countrymen ! and trust in the Lord forever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength ! A general panic immediately ran through all the hosts of our enemies, and they who a few hours before were triumphing in their inglorious deeds, spreading distress and terror all around, now fled by thousands from the river in wild, frantic disorder, like so many murderers before the avenger of blood. What a reverse of fortune ! how wounding to tyrannic pride ! Surely salvation did God appoint for walls and bulwarks !" *

* Extract from a thanksgiving sermon preached in December, 1777, by Rev. David Avery, chaplain to Colonel Paterson, on the anniversary of the battle of Trenton, in which they were both engaged.



That was a memorable week. In eight days two famous victories were gained over a larger force by superior generalship. These battles of Trenton and Princeton prevented Lord Cornwallis from going in person to England "to inform the king and assure the government that the colonies were substantially subdued and the rebellion suppressed." How badly he was mistaken he afterward found out to his cost, for on the 19th of October, 1781, he surrendered his own sword to Washington.

On the 22d Major Vose was appointed to the command of his regiment as colonel, but travel was slow in those days, and orders were still issued to John Paterson as colonel.

"STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY,

"COUNCIL CHAMBER, March 1, 1777.

"Ordered that the Commissary General be and he hereby is directed to deliver Major Vose for the Use of the Men inlisted in the Regiment whereof Jhn Paterson is Colo thirty Seven Fire Arms & accoutrements Said Vose giving a Receipt for the same and to be accountable for said Arms with their Accoutrements at the Rate of four Pounds ten Shillings for each Arm.

"Jno AVERY Dpy Secy" *

Up to this time there had been no attempt on the part of Congress to create a regular army. There had always been in the minds of the people an intense prejudice against it. The fear that a regular army was to be quartered on them by the British Government had been one of the points that the people had resisted. The enlistments had been made only for short periods, and so much difficulty had been caused by the expiration of their terms and their re-enlistment that, on the earnest representation of Washington, Congress determined now to enlist men for the war and to receive no enlistment for a term of less than three years. Colonel Paterson had been eminently successful in re-enlisting his men, and was again commissioned to raise a regiment. Sixty-six thousand men were apportioned to the different States, but the enlistments fell short of that number. The men enlisted were

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxxiii., p. 115.

1777 to serve for three years without bounty, or were to serve during the war and secure at the end of it one hundred acres of land; but even this inducement was not always sufficient. These measures created a standing army.

Colonel Paterson had shown such ability in Canada that on the 30th of September, 1776, General Gates had recommended him to Congress as a very "deserving officer and worthy of the special notice of that body." Washington had also urged his promotion. The promotion was slow in being made.

On November 30, 1776, Colonel Paterson had been assigned to one of the new Massachusetts regiments, with rendezvous at Springfield, at which place he had been ordered to be with his officers and men on January 1, 1777, and to wait there for orders as to which army he should join; but the events of Christmas Day, 1776, and the battles of Trenton and Princeton, showed that he was too valuable a man to be kept in a subordinate position, and the order, so far as he was concerned, was never executed.

Congress, on the 16th of February, 1777, promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general. He was commissioned on the 21st, and assigned to the Northern Department. On the 22d of February he received orders from General Heath to join the army again. He had gone to Lenox on furlough waiting for his orders to join his brigade. On March 3d he wrote to General Heath from Lenox. He had previously been in Boston. This letter, like all those relating to his command, shows his kind thought for both his former officers and men.

" LENOX March 3 1777.*

"SIR: I had the Honor of receiving your orders, of the 22 ulto yesterday, and shall comply with them with every possible despatch. The Troops, raised in this quarter, are ready to march, were they provided with Arms & Clothing, as I must make a journey to Albany to settle the account of my former Regt, I cannot go again to Boston untill I return. I have wrote Lt Colo. Vose to procure them with the greatest Despatch for the whole Regiment, and desire you to give him your

* Mass. Historical Society, Boston, Heath papers, vol. iii., p.263.

friendly assistance as it is a matter of utmost importance, which sir, 1777
will be gratefully acknowledged by

"Your most obed.

"humb. servant.

"JOHN PATERSON

"Colo."

"Hon. Gen. HEATH."

On March 29th he writes to Major-General Ward :

"LENOX, March 29th, 1777. *

"SIR: From the repeated accounts that I have received from the northard, I am very apprehensive that we are extremely weak at Ticonderoga, considering how far the season is advanced: I make no manner of Doubt but Gen^l Carlton is minutely informed of our numbers, the large Quantities of provisions [?] we have there, and the situation in all respects. I therefore *took upon it my* duty to inform you that the numbers marching to the northard according to my observation, and intelligence are but very few, from what obstacle I know not in general, but in particular I am obliged to inform you that the (muster master) for the County of Berkshire hath not money enough to pay the Bounty to the Soldiers that he gladly would have mustered and approved, nor has he received or paid one farthing of Continental Bounty. Should we Sleep away but a few weeks, we may depend upon it that the important post and the amazing quantity of Provisions sent for the support of thirty Battallions departed for its defence is lost. Perhaps you may think me impertinent, but my *duty affirm* and Conscience require me to inform you thus much—

"I have the pleasure to inform you that inlistments have gone on of late beyond my expectation but cannot march the men untill they receive their Bounty—I must also inform you that I have received orders from Genl. Washington, to assist in pushing on the Troops with all possible dispatch who seems very anxious for the safety of the Post. You may rely on it, that a very few Days will entirely open the Lake at which time the Post is lost, unless immediately strongly reinforced—this comes by Express and I impatiently wait your orders—

"It would be needless to restate to you the affair at the Peekskill and Sabbath Day Point &c. as you must have received intelligence before this comes to hand—

"I have the hon^r to be with

"the greatest Esteem your

"most obedient

"humb^l Serv^t

"Hon. ARTEMUS WARD, Maj. Gen." "JNO. PATERSON, B. Genl."

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1777 On April 6th Major-General Heath wrote to General Paterson :

"HEAD QTR'S. BOST. Apr. 6 1777 *

"DEAR SIR : Yours of the 29th ultimo to the Hon. Maj. Gen. Ward has been shewn to me—I am extremely sorry to hear of the weak state of Ticonderoga, which has been communicated to us also by Gen. Wayne—I am endeavoring to push on the Troops destined to that place as fast as possible. Cols. Marshalls, Brewer's, Bradford's and Francis' Regts have already marched they are to be followed by Baileys, Wessons and Jackson's as fast as they can be armed and equipt—the first division of them will march to-morrow or next day—the New Hampshire Regts are also to march to that place (Ticonderoga) with the utmost despatch—I must beg you to quicken any belonging to either of the before mentioned Regts that may be in your vicinity and repair to that place yourself as soon as possible. The Regt. late your own is destined to Peekskill—Part of it marches from here to-morrow, or next day for that place. If the three companies near you are armed and equipt, I would have order them on to Peekskill without a moment's delay—taking the shortest and best route. If they are not armed and equipt let no time be lost in affecting of it.

"You mention the want of the Continental Bounty—the chest here has at present an ample supply—every Colonel upon application may have a warrant for such terms as are necessary.

"I am Dr. Sir

"your's sincerely

"W. HEATH, M. G.

"P. S. Col. Brewer has not yet joined his regt. You will desire him to do it immediately Gen. Wayne having represented that the Troops which have arrived are destitute of Field officers.

"Brig. Gen. PATERSON"

In April the following resolve was passed relating to his successor :

"STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

"In the House of Representatives April 22 1777 This House made choice by ballot of Joseph Vose as Colonel of one of the fifteen Battalions to be raised in the State in the room of Coll. Paterson who is promoted

"Sent up for concurrence

"J WARREN Speaker †

"In Council April 22 1777

"Rsvd & concurred

"JNO AVERY Dpy Secy."

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccxiii., p. 332.

General Paterson went at once to Ticonderoga. General 1777
Gates sent an aide-de-camp to Bennington with a letter, expecting to meet him there, but he writes from Albany, under date of April 23d, that, to his amazement, General Paterson had used such dispatch that he had gone on to Ticonderoga alone. From the plots of the Tories, he says that he considers Albany and the different magazines between that city and Lake George need more troops. * General Paterson arrived in good time at Ticonderoga, and was there in St. Clair's division, engaged in fortifying it and Mount Independence. The regiment which he had commanded had had but a poor supply of arms, and on March 1st an order in council was given for arms to be sent, but on April 2d there were still 250 men in the regiment who had none. That they were destitute of other necessities appears from a letter from Ticonderoga, written on May 2d, and addressed to the president of the council, as follows :

"To the President of Council : †

"GENTLEMEN : The many Difficulties this Garrison labors under will, I flatter myself, be a sufficient Excuse for my troubling you with this.

"The Soldiers are chiefly destitute of Blankets, some are without Shoes or Stockings, etc., etc., the want of which renders it extremely Difficult, indeed almost impracticable, to keep up the Necessary Duty, such as Scouting, Guarding, Fatigue, etc., which in this rainy, cold Climate you must be sensible is not only tedious, but very detrimental to the Health of the Army unless supplied with these very necessary articles.

"The Garrison is at present very weak, not more than Nineteen Hundred Men sick and well, this Number composed of Soldiers, Carpenters, Seamen on board the Fleet, Blacksmiths, Armorers, etc.; the Men, therefore, are continually on Duty of some sort—Numbers of them now destitute of shoes, and by far the greater part without Blankets—must therefore beg of you, Gentlemen, that we may be speedily supplied.

"The Stores of Rum, Sugar, etc., from Massachusetts State were exhausted before my arrival at this place ; it will be very necessary that we have at least a small supply of those Articles for the Sick which are now in Camp.

"I think it of Great Importance that the Troops destined for the Defense of this Post be sent without Delay. We have had no late intelli-

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxcvii., p. 5.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxcvii., p. 12.

1777 gence from Canada, but from their seeming Supineness it is generally believed they are meditating and preparing for some important stroke.

"General Wayne, before he left this place, wrote desiring the Militia of the county of Berkshire and the Hampshire Grants to reinforce him, but the Disturbances at Albany have taken them that way.

"The Work necessary to put this place in a proper State of Defense is far from being complete, but I am pushing it on as fast as the Debilitated State of the Garrison will permit.

"I am, Gentlemen, Your Honors' most Obedient and humble Servant,

"JOHN PATERSON.

"TICONDEROGA, May 2, 1777."

The following is a letter to General Gates:

"TICONDEROGA, May 5, 1777.

"Honble Majr Genl Gates.

"By a Scout which this Day Returned I have Certain advice of a party of Indians &c. Who have come up the Lake as far as Crown point, And by their Tracts Taken there Rout towards Lake George—In Consequence of which Captain Whitcomb with one hundred men has gone in pursuit of them, upon whose Return I hope to have the satisfaction of Giving You a good Account of."*

On the 19th of May things still appear to be in a very unfavorable condition, as is shown by the following letter:

"TICONDEROGA May 19. 1777

"To Ye Honble Genl Court of the Massachusetts State or to the Honble Council:†

"I beg Leave to Inform your Honrs That I have repaired to this place and Informed myself of the State of the Army And find them in Tolerable good Health & In high Spirits, considering they are in want of almost Everything but meat & Bread & peas that is good. But Distress for want of Comfortable Stores. There is News that is Credited that the Stores & the Genl House at St Johns is Consumed by fire In our favor by kind Providence Your favour to me is very kindly Recd & your care for them His Hon. Genl Paterson Coll Marshall & others in Rank have wrote I do not find but that the Commsy Majr Smith bears a good character.

"I omit writing particulars in as much as Gentlemen has wrote, That feels for themselves & Soldiers By reason of uncommon Rain & mud beyond expression It is Difficult moving Stores But there must be no delay

"Only Beg leave to Subscribe your Honrs most Obedt Humble Servt

"ASA DOUGLAS."

*Gates MSS., p. 105.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxvii., p. 59.

On the 9th of June General Gates, who had been in command, left, and General Schuyler succeeded him. He at once ordered all the forts to be put into the best condition for service, and appealed to the States to forward their militia, and on the 20th made a personal inspection of the post, as he considered it to be in a dangerous position, not only because of the unsatisfactory condition in which he found the army, who were in need of all kinds of supplies, but also because they were not in a proper state of discipline. The troops were not numerous enough to hold out against any protracted siege. The whole garrison in both places was, including artisans and 900 militia-men, only 2546 men. 1777

Thirteen colonies had now joined in the struggle for freedom. Massachusetts had been declared in Parliament, on the ninth of February, 1775, to be in "rebellion against the king," and she, on May 1, 1776, had expunged the name of the king from all legal proceedings. Rhode Island, on May 4, 1775, had renounced allegiance to the king. South Carolina, on March 1, and Georgia, on April 5, 1776, had instructed their delegates to vote for independence. New Jersey, on April 6, 1776, had voted "that the commerce of the thirteen colonies is not subject to the king," and had ordered two regiments to be raised for the Continental service. North Carolina on April 14th, Virginia on May 15th, New York on June 11th, Connecticut on June 14th, Delaware on June 15th, New Hampshire on the same day, Pennsylvania on June 24th, and Maryland on June 28th, had each instructed their delegates to vote for independence, and it was proper that the colonies so joined should have a flag.

Congress had appointed a committee on a flag which should be a national emblem to be adopted by all the thirteen colonies. The committee consisted of Hon. Robert Morris and Hon. George Ross. This committee, accompanied by Gen. Washington, called on Betsey Ross, at 209 Arch Street, Philadelphia, and after consultation with her decided to adopt the flag which Washington had raised at Cambridge on January

1777 1st, the year before, except that in the place of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew there were thirteen white stars on a blue ground. This flag was accepted by them, made by her, and adopted by resolution of Congress on June 14, 1777.

It is said that the first actual military service of this flag was at the siege of Fort Stanwix. On August 2, 1777, the fort was besieged by British and Indians. The garrison of the fort had no flag, and one was extemporized for the purpose. The red stripes were made out of the petticoat of a woman, the white stripes and the stars were made out of the shirts of the soldiers, and the blue was made out of Colonel Gansevoort's military cloak. The siege was raised on August 22d, and this flag is now preserved as a great treasure in Colonel Gansevoort's family.

On June 13th General Paterson received the following order:

"STILLWATER, June 18, 1777.

"Gen. Paterson's Brigade to be mustered to-morrow at four o'clock—All officers and soldiers belonging thereto whether on board the fleet or in the public works are to repair to their respective regiments for that purpose.*

"Orders by General Schuyler."

On June 29th General Paterson was Brigadier of the day at Stillwater.

On the 30th of June General Paterson wrote to Congress on behalf of Captain Goodrich:

"HONORABLE GENTLEMEN: Capt William Goodrich who was taken prisoner at Quebec Winter before last, and since redeemed by Exchange has been since the first of March last, doing duty as Majr of Brigade to the Brigade under my Command, and as he has not a Commission as Majr of Brigade this is to request you would please to order one made out for him.

"Your Compliance will oblige

"Honorable Gentlemen Your most Obedt and verry Hble Servt

"JOHN PATERSON.

"To the Honorable Council.

"TIOONDEROGA, June 3, 1777."

* Livingston's Orderly Book.

"In Council June 26, 1777 Read & ordered that Capt Wm Goodrich be commissioned as a Major of the Brigade whereof John Paterson Esq is Brigadier. 1777
 "JNO AVERY Dpy Secy." *

On the second anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, General Burgoyne began to cross the lake to Crown Point. On July 1st he was before Ticonderoga. He had secured detachments from seventeen Indian nations, who are described by a German officer as being "tall, warlike, and enterprising, but fiendishly wicked." Within a month they brought in twenty captives and as many scalps. Burgoyne argued certain victory from what he was pleased to call their "incessant activity," and promised the loss of their scalps to every runaway or deserter. The Indians, however, were not satisfied, and wished to return to their tribes. They had always been a treacherous ally and had insisted that they should be allowed to retain the cruel customs of their fathers. Burgoyne, however, secured a pledge from them that they would not desert him during the campaign. On the sixth he wrote that he was not likely to be in possession of Albany before the twenty-second or twenty-third of the month.

As our position at Ticonderoga had become very dangerous, at a council of war held on June 20th application was made to Washington for reinforcements. These did not arrive, and on July 5th it was decided to abandon the position. Ticonderoga had been fortified with the greatest care and was considered impregnable, but the key to the whole situation had been neglected. It was a crag which rises 600 feet above the lake, about a mile south of the fort, and which commanded it. It was so difficult of access that no one thought it could be fortified. The possibility of its being occupied by the enemy does not appear to have been even contemplated. It had therefore been entirely overlooked. It was evident that a battery planted there would command the fort, but no one thought that siege guns could by any possibility be dragged to its top, and so the position had not been secured by the Americans. General

* Revolutionary Rolls, vol. xxvi., p. 264.

1777 Phillips, however, was not slow in appreciating the strategic value of the position. He approached it through a defile which could not be seen from the fort, working night and day in constructing a road over which he could drag up his cannon. As the British surrounded the fort the garrison looked forward to an assault. The officers and men were confident that they could maintain their ground until the expected reinforcements arrived, but on the morning of July 5th the red coats of the British soldiers appeared on the top of this crag, and their brass cannon glistened in the sun. They named the crag Fort Defiance. Ticonderoga had thus, unperceived by our forces, been turned into a trap. There was to be no fighting; Ticonderoga was already practically taken by the British. There was nothing to do but to evacuate as quickly as possible. Early in the morning, at a council of war at which all the commanding officers were present, the position was declared untenable. General Paterson was present at both of these councils.

"At a Council of General Officers, held at Ticonderoga July 5, 1777.

"Present,

"Major General St. Clair,
"Brigadier General De Roche Fermoy,
"Brigadier General Poor,
"Brigadier General Paterson,
"Col. Commandant Long.

"General St. Clair represented to the Council, that as there is every reason to believe that the batteries of the enemy are ready to open upon the Ticonderoga side, and that the camp is very much exposed to their fire, and to be infiladed on all quarters; and as there is also reason to expect an attack upon Ticonderoga and Mount Independence at the same time, in which case neither could draw any support from the other; he desires their opinion whether it would be most proper to remove the tents to the low ground, where they would be less exposed, and wait the attack at the Ticonderoga Lines, or whether the whole of the troops should be drawn over to Mount Independence, the more effectually to provide for the defence of that post.

"At the same time the General begged leave to inform them that the whole of our force consisted of 2089 effective rank and file, includ-

ing 124 artificers unarmed, besides the corps of artillery, and about 1777 900 militia that have joined us, and cannot stay but a few days.

"The council were unanimously of opinion, that it is impossible with our force to defend Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and that the troops, cannon and forces should be removed this night, if possible, to Mount Independence.

"2d. Whether after the division of the army at Ticonderoga have retreated to Mount Independence, we shall be in a situation to defend that post, or in case it cannot be defended, if a retreat into the country will be practicable.

"The council are unanimously of opinion, that, as the enemy have already partly surrounded us, & there remains nothing more to invest us completely but their occupying the neck of and betwixt the lakes and the east creek, which is not more than three quarters of a mile over, and possessing themselves of the Narrows betwixt us and Skeenesborough, and thereby cutting off all communication with the country, a retreat ought to be undertaken as soon as possible, and that we shall be very fortunate to effect it.

"Signed

" A. ST. CLAIR, Maj. Gen.

" DE ROCHE FERMOY, B. G.

" ENOCH POOR, "

" JOHN PATERSON, "

" Colonel Commandant LONG.

" A true copy taken from the original, Isaac Budd Dunn, A. D. C.

" Published by order of Congress, Charles Thompson, Secretary." *

On the 6th of July both forts were evacuated, with the effect of making the enemy, both at home and abroad, again confident that the "rebellion" would soon be put down, "as this oversight on the part of the Americans in not fortifying so commanding a position showed that they had no capable men." It was exactly the same mistake that the British general (Howe) made in neglecting to fortify Dorchester Heights in 1775. The evacuation was effected during the night as well as the hurried preparations would permit. It was made known to the British by the accidental setting fire to a house in the very early morning, which discovered to them the rear-guard of the American army. In less than an hour the British occupied the empty fortress with a thousand men. But for the great activity of General Burgoyne the

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1777 American army would have come off without harm, but he divided his forces and harassed them in every direction. General Fraser with 900 men at once started in pursuit. He was followed in a few hours by Riedsdale, while Burgoyne started up the lake with the main army. On the morning of the 7th the rear-guard of 1000 men of the American army was overtaken six miles behind the main army at Hubarton (Hubardton, Rutland Co., Vt.). An obstinate fight ensued, in which the British were at first repulsed, but when the Hessian reinforcements came up under Riedesel the Americans were defeated with the loss of one third of their number. General Paterson's brigadier-major (Bement) was wounded and taken prisoner in this fight. Very few of the Americans were killed. The greater part of those engaged in the fight escaped. But during the day the British took over two hundred persons who were stragglers, either invalids or wounded. The British loss in killed and wounded was 175, which obliged them to halt. It was a serious loss to the Americans, but it checked the pursuit, and five days later St. Clair with 2000 men reached Fort Edward and joined the main forces under Schuyler. On July 12th General Paterson reported there.

"At a Council of General Officers held at Fort Edward the 20th day of July 1777

"Present

"Major General Schuyler
"Major General St Clair
"Brigadier General Nixon
"Brigadier General Poor
"Brigadier General Paterson
"Brigadier General Learned
"Brigadier General Ten Broeck
"Brigadier General Fellows

"General Schuyler informed the Council that application had been made to him by several of the officers of the Militia to return to their Habitations. He also laid before the Council the Examination of Colonel Cilley's Son and a servant of General Poor sent in by the Enemy and those of two Soldiers of the 21st Regiment who were made prisoners by one of our Scouts about Six miles below Fort Ann. After reading this information General Schuyler begged the sense of the Council upon the following Questions.

"1st Whether in our present situation and that of the Enemy at Skenes- 1777
borough it would be prudent to dismiss any of our Militia?

"2dly If that measure is thought prudent, what proportion of the Militia ought to be discharged?

"3dly What will be the most eligible mode of discharging part of them, so as not to give too much umbrage to such as shall be ordered to remain?

"4thly Whether, if it must be thought expedient to dismiss part of the Militia, any of the Militia of the County of Hampshire in the State of Massachusetts Bay, and of the County of Litchfield in the State of Connecticut which are just come up, and which the General is informed, are only Drafts and not the whole Force of those Counties, should be suffered to return?

"On the first and second questions, the Council are of opinion that altho' the Army is already inferior to that of the least number of the Enemy, of which we have an account yet, considering the distress that may be brought on the Country, at this very critical Time when the Harvest is so near at hand should the whole of the Militia be detained, and in hope that a reinforcement of Continental Troops will be sent up; that one half of the Militia be permitted to return Home.

"On the third Question the Council recommend that the Brigadier Generals of Militia together with their Field Officers, adopt such measures as shall appear best adapted to answer the purpose:

"Upon the fourth Question the Council are unanimously of opinion that the Militia of the County of Hampshire in the Massachusetts Bay and those of the State of Connecticut should be detained and that General Schuyler write to the President of the State of Massachusetts Bay for a Relief of those Counties of Berkshire & Hampshire that will be left here and for a reinforcement of not less than one thousand Rank and File from the state of Connecticut.

" PH SCHUYLER
" AR ST CLAIR
" JOAN NIXON
" ENOCH POOR

" JOHN PATERSON
" EBENZR LEARNED
" JOHN FELLOWS
" ABRAM TEN BROECK " *

On July 24th the following orders were issued:

" HEAD QUARTERS, MOSES CREEK, July 24th.

"The Army to be divided into two divisions, Major Genl St. Clair to have Brigl General Fermoy's, Poor's, and Paterson's Brigades in his, with such militia as are now with any of said Brigades and such as may from time to time be annexed to them. Major General Arnold's Division to consist of Brigadier Genl Nixon's and Learned's Brigades

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxlvi., p. 398.

1777 and the Brigade of Militia from this State commanded by Brig. Gen. Ten Broeck." *

"HEAD QUARTERS, MOSES CREEK, July 24th.

"Brigade Major Goodrich having petitioned for leave to resign, and having alleged satisfactory reason for such requisition, the General accepted his resignation, and appointed Major McClure to the Post which he filled—Mj McClure is therefore to be obeyed & respected as Brigade Major to Genl Paterson." †

Schuyler, the commander of the Department, was severely blamed for the fall of Ticonderoga, and, although he was one of the ablest American generals, he was superseded by Gates. Subsequent events proved the wisdom of his plans. St. Clair was afterwards justified by a court-martial. For the failure to fortify Mount Defiance both Gates and St. Clair were to blame, but St. Clair had only been in command about three weeks. The retreat from Ticonderoga was made in some haste, as appears from the following letters :

"FORT MILLER 27th July 1777

"*To the Honorable Council and Honorable House of Representatives of the Massachusetts State* ‡

"*May it please your Honors.*

"On the Sad & Melancholly Sixth Instant I with the army Left Ticonderoga and Next Morning upon advice first from General Paterson & Other lower Officers and also from General St Clair—after Certain Information that the Enemy followed and Overtook our Boats, before Some Arrived to Skeensborough &c. by which means I lost my all (Money only Excepted) I Left the Army at Castleton Soon after was Informed that The Enemy were Come to Fort George Therefore what of our Stores were left There I concluded must be Lost. Therefore Judged it my duty to Return Lodge the Money, Procure Invoices and return Back which I accomplished with Mr. Breck at Northampton & returned. On my return Found the Enemy had not Visited Fort George.—Nevertheless the Stores left at Fort George by Mr Wright were brought off with the Continental Stores in Such Haste, that no proper Distinction was kept. I have Till Yesterday Improved my Time Industiously to Search out & Secure the States Property, with some, tho' Little Success. Beg Leave Further to Inform your Honors, that upon Application to General Schuyler to Enable me to Take into Custody what I might find of the property of the Massachusetts State, he was pleased to Order as Follows viz

* Gen. Schuyler's orders, Livingston's Orderly Book.

† Gen. Schuyler's orders, Livingston's Orderly Book.

‡ Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxcvii., p. 348.

"Sir you are to take into your Care all the Liquors & Other Stores which you may find on the Ground Belonging to the State of Massachusetts Bay—& are to Issue no Liquors without An Order from Head Quarters you will make a return of the Quantity you have on Hand. 1777

"JAMES WILKINSON D. A. General.

"HEAD QUARTERS, July 25, 1777.

"To Maj^r Smith."

"Now may it please your Honors after I Rec'd the Afore Mentioned Orders I made Search & found Two Hdds Rum (not Full) one Hdd Sugar Four bbs Ginger one bl Oatmeal one bl peper (much out) then Through Discouragement gave out and Applied to General Schuyler Intreating his Honor not to Interfere in his Orders with the Orders of my Constituents (as no man can Serve Two Masters) Much was said on the Subject. I Tho't I did my duty on the Occasion General Paterson being present was not Wanting but did his part According to his Much Better Abilities But to no (appearance) of Effect—The General (no doubt) is determined in the affair as also Brigadier General Poor from New Hampshire State Appeared Resolutely determined to Obtain if possible an Eaqel privilege with General Paterson or any Gentlemen from our State as Tho' these Stores were the property of the Continent Beg Leave Farther to Inform your Honors that I did Most Earnestly Entreat General Schuyler not to Force me in Between Two hot fires but if His was determined (as Before Mentioned) to take the Stores out of my Hands & dismiss me, or Confine me, or any Thing his Honor pleased, Rather than Compell me to Violate my Trust & my Orders Rec'd Much was Argued on the Subject more than I can relate in my present Hurry. The General was Generous to me in Everything but his Fixed purposes I therefore Judged it my Indispensable duty to Report to your Honors & Humbly beg direction Earnestly Intreating for direction as Soon as Possible—Meantime beg leave to give it as my Humble Opinion (from what I see & Hear) that the Regiment from our State would be less dissatisfied to have Nothing sent Them or all the Stores (Clothing Excepted) Removed back rather than to have those of Other States have an Eaqal Right with them or Possibly Obtain Privillidge Beyond Them.

"Pray your Honors to send me directions by the Bearer or by such hand as your Honors may appoint, as I Stand in great Need to know how to Conduct in my present Situation, Would only Inform that an Attack is hourly Expected from the Enemy, our Army are now Between Fort Edward and Fort Miller

"Have the Honor to be your Honors

"Obedient Servant

"HEZ^a SMITH." *

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxcvii., p. 348.

1777 On July 28th General Paterson was at Moses Creek camp at a court-martial. On August 1st he had reached Saratoga.

No one was prepared for the shock which the evacuation of Ticonderoga caused. The people had been made to believe that the position was impregnable. The news of its loss made many feel that there was no use to continue the struggle. It was a bitter disappointment to the army, whose hopes in the North were centered on that fortress. It was a great mortification to Congress, for that body had gained great prestige by the way the fortress had been captured, and it was hoped by holding the fort to gain support both at home and abroad. Subsequent events, however, proved that its capture did not help the British in the least, for, to hold it, Burgoyne had to detach a large part of his force which he could not spare, and he was obliged subsequently to abandon it. Burgoyne now moved forward rapidly. On July 10th he had reached the head of Lake Champlain, and on July 30th, notwithstanding the fact that the roads were torn up by Schuyler, he was at Fort Edward. It was a rapid march, and he was confident of capturing the whole of the American army. On August 1st Congress, by a vote of eleven States, superseded Major-General Schuyler by Major-General Gates, who took command on the 19th of August. All the generals were ordered "to repair to headquarters that an inquiry be made as to the reasons for the evacuation." The acts and resolutions of Congress are given below :

"IN CONGRESS, 29 July 1777 *

"Resolved

"That an enquiry be made into the reasons of the evacuation of Ticonderoga & Mount Independence & into the conduct of the general officers, who were in the Northern department at the time of the evacuation.

"That a committee be appointed to digest & report the mode of conducting the enquiry.

"July 30

"Resolved

"That Major General St Clair who commanded at Ticonderoga & Mount Independence repair forthwith to Head Quarters.

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccxiv., p. 444.

"August 1st. 1777

"Resolved

"That Major General Schuyler be directed to repair to Head Quarters

"That general Washington be directed to order such general-officer as he shall think proper, immediately to repair to the Northern department to relieve Major General Schuyler in his command there

"That brigadier Poor, brigadier Paterson & brigadier Roche De Fermoy be directed to repair to Head Quarters.

"August 3rd

"Whereas it is represented to Congress that general Washington is of opinion that the immediate recall of all the brigadiers from the Northern department may be productive of inconvenience to the publick service;

"Resolved

"That the order of Congress of the 1st day of this month respecting the said brigadiers, be suspended, until general Washington shall judge it may be carried into effect with safety

"By order of Congress

"JOHN HANCOCK Presidt"

On August 1st four companies of light infantry were formed.

"HEADQUARTERS, August 1st 1777.

"Brigades ordered 'immediately form companies of Light Infantry,' one from each regiment of the most active officers and men. the commanding officers of regiments to appoint the officers and report to Adj. Gen. as soon as possible.

"Nixon's Brigade to furnish 168, including officers.

Fermoy's.....	105
Poor's.....	112
Paterson's.....	109
Learned.....	116

"STILLWATER, Aug. 7th.

"Field Officer for Fatigue from Paterson's Brigade."

"STILLWATER, Aug. 8th

"Brigadier of the Day, Paterson."

The order for retreat was given.

"HEAD QUARTERS, Stillwater, Aug. 18, 1777.

"The Army to march to-morrow morning at Four o'clock. Tents to be struck and furled at two o'clock.

"Col. Bradford's regiment is annexed to Gen. Paterson's brigade.

"Col. Baldwin with fifty or sixty men to attend the rear guard in order to destroy the bridges.

1777 "Brigade Order of March.

Gen. Paterson.....Van,
 Gen. Glover.....Center,
 Gen. Nixon.....Rear." *

"Aug. 14, 1777.

"Gen! Nixon's, Poor's and Paterson's Brigades to strike their Tents at three o'clock to-morrow morning and to march at Gun Firing." †

In order to help St. Leger and prevent the Americans from mustering in force against himself, Burgoyne had planned an attack on Bennington. This town had been made a depot for American supplies. His army was already suffering from want of food. His transportation had become very difficult for want of horses, which among other things he expected to find there. He was very glad to make this diversion, as he hoped to strengthen his forces by collecting loyalists into his regiments. When the news of the intended attack was received, Colonel Stark, who commanded a few hundred militia near that place, prepared to defend it, and sent for reinforcements. The first to arrive was a regiment of Berkshire militia under Parson Allen of Pittsfield. They were subsequently reinforced by Vermont troops. The battle was fought on August 16th. The Americans, under Colonel Stark, were undisciplined but determined militia, very ably commanded. The English troops were composed of some of the most capable officers and best disciplined men of Europe, with some loyalists and Indians. They were sent in two detachments, of seven hundred each, on different days. The commander of the first detachment was killed, the Indians fled, and the rest of the troops surrendered. The next detachment was utterly routed. It was one of the most stubbornly fought battles of the war. It left Burgoyne with both flanks exposed, with his center demoralized by the loss of the Canadians, who fled in terror, and of the Indians, who deserted in great numbers. He had lost some of his best officers, one seventh of his army, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, of which he was greatly in need. He was not only weakened, but

* Massachusetts Historical Society.

† Livingston's Orderly Book.

he was disheartened. The news of the surrender of Ticonderoga was received with great joy in England. It was regarded as the death-blow to the American cause. The English even began to discuss the best methods for restoring the royal government in the colonies. They considered the battle of Bennington only as a diversion and did not pay much attention to it. The Americans had now the strategic advantage, and Burgoyne plainly saw that he could not be certain of victory. He could not delay his march, he could only advance. The delay had given our army the opportunity to occupy and strongly intrench themselves at Stillwater, and unless they were dislodged the plan to capture Albany could not be carried out, and he resolved to do it—as he thought, without serious difficulty. The success of this plan was of vital importance to him; if it succeeded, the situation of the American army would become desperate.

“IN CONGRESS, 27 August 1777

“Congress took into Consideration the report of the Committee on the Mode of conducting the Enquiry into the Causes of the Evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount-Independence; and into the Conduct of the General-officers in the Northern Department at the time of the Evacuation: Whereupon

“*Resolved*

“That a Committee of three Members of Congress be appointed and authorized to correspond with Publick Bodies and Private Persons, by Letter or otherwise, in this and the neighbouring States, in order to collect the clearest and fullest Evidence of the State of the Army in the Northern Department, and also of the State of the Troops, military Stores and Provisions, at the said Posts before and at the Time when, the Evacuation was determined upon:

“To examine the Minutes of the Council of War and to inquire what Orders were given from Time to Time, by the Commander in Chief of that Department:

“To inquire particularly if the Barracks and Stores were destroyed, or left standing.

“To inquire of the Quarter-master general and Commissary-general what Quantity of Provision had been laid up at Ticonderoga, or near it, for the use of the Garrison; and what Measures were taken or taking for throwing further supplies.

“To inform themselves, as fully as possible, of the Number, Appoint-

1777 ment and Movements of the Enemy, from the Time of their Landing to the Time of evacuating the Fort; and also the Number, Quality and Condition of the Garrison; and if any and what Measures were taken to gain Intelligence of the Strength of the Enemy, by the Commander in Chief or the Commanding-officer at Ticonderoga.

"To inquire of the Clothier General what Clothing from Time to Time had been issued for the Use of the Northern Department, and from other publick officers into the Expenditure of such general stores.

"To inquire into the Number, Equipment and Behaviour of the Militia, and the Term of Service for which they were engaged at and before the Time of the Evacuation; into the Situation and Condition of the Lines at Ticonderoga and the Fortifications upon Mount Independence, what Works had been thrown up by the Enemy, what Posts they had taken, and the Distance of their Works: what Orders had been given by the Commanding Officer for directing and regulating a retreat, and the manner in which the retreat was conducted; what Orders were given relative to the Sick and what Care was taken of them; whether any Continental Troops and what Number were at Albany, or in the Neighbourhood; how long they had been there and why they were not ordered to Ticonderoga.

"To inquire into the Number and Size of Cannon, and whether any were removed before the Evacuation; the Quantity and Species of military Stores, the State of the Arms, both of the Continental Soldiers and Militia; whether the Troops were furnished with Bayonets, and whether there were any and what number of Pikes or Spears, proper for defending Lines.

"That upon such Enquiry and Collection of Facts, a copy of the whole to be transmitted by the said Committee, to General Washington, and that thereupon he appoint a Court-Martial for the trial of the General officers who were in the Northern Department when Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were evacuated, agreeably to the Rules and Regulations of War

"August 28

"Congress proceeded to the Election of the Committee to collect Evidence and Facts relative to the Evacuation of Ticonderoga, &c, and the Ballots being taken

"Mr Laurens Mr Richard H Lee and Mr J Adams were elected

"Copy from the Journals

"WILLIAM CH HOUSTON D Secr'y"

As the opinion of the necessity for the evacuation had been concurred in by all, they all came in for a share of censure before the trial and for a thorough investigation by Congress.

How nobly General Paterson was to redeem his character before Congress and in the public estimation was shown shortly after in the battles which preceded the surrender of Burgoyne. From August 4th to September 25th General Paterson's camp was at Stillwater. He was officer of the day there on August 4th, 8th, and 12th, and on September 14th, 25th, and 30th. On September 5th he made returns from Van Schaick's Island, nine miles from Albany, of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers under him, having been restored to his command. 1777

On August 12th General Paterson was brigadier of the day at Stillwater.

" SARATOGA, Sunday, September 7, 1777.

" Had preaching. Recd. Orders in the evening to strike tents at 4 and march off at gunfire. Made oath to the muster Rolls before Gen. Paterson with Lt. Remick." *

General orders, 19th instant :

" Parole

" C sign

" Brigdr of the day	Paterson
Brigade Majr	McClure
Field officer	Colo. S. Livingstone " †

" HEAD QUARTERS 25th Sept. 1777.

" Parole

" C Sign

Brigdr of the day Paterson " †

" HEAD QUARTERS Sept. 30th 1777.

" Parole Marble Head

" C sign Salem

Brigdr of the day Paterson " †

" HEAD QUARTERS 5th Oct. 1777.

" Parole

" C sign

Brigdr of the day Paterson." †

* Gen. Henry Sewal's Diary, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† Cook's Orderly Book, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1777 It was necessary for the British, both from a commercial and a military point of view, to obtain the complete control of New York State. The population was not large, and there were many royalists among the people. Its complete subjugation, it was thought, would have such a moral effect on the other provinces as to cause them to surrender, while its military occupation would give them control of the great waterways and access to Canada. It was thought at first that it would be an easy task, but after Carleton's retreat from Crown Point, which enabled Schuyler to reinforce Washington with such disastrous results to the British, they thought in 1777 to work out a plan which would be more successful. They now held Canada and New York Island, and in order to secure the rest of the State by attacking it from three points at once, Lord George Germain, then in charge of American affairs in England, determined to give a decided blow which should wipe out once for all the rebellious spirit in the colonies. For this purpose he made, with General Burgoyne, a careful study of the plan of campaign for 1777, which was to extinguish all traces of the war in the north and so overwhelm the south by its show of power that it would not only end the war, but he would be able to punish its aiders and abettors with a heavy hand. This plan was to gain possession of the Hudson River, and consequently of New York State and New England, and to occupy New York City. As he saw it, the plan could not fail. So he sent Burgoyne to Canada to go down Lake Champlain, taking all the towns on his way, including Ticonderoga, and to occupy Albany and Hudson. Colonel St. Leger was to go up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, land at Oswego, and with the assistance of Sir John Johnson and the Indians, take Fort Stanwix at the "Oneida carrying-place," now Rome, on the Mohawk River, and then go down the Mohawk Valley to join forces with Burgoyne at Albany. Sir William Howe, with the main army of 80,000 men, was to come up from New York, force all the passes, and arrive at Albany, and thus by the junction

of the three armies complete the subjugation of New York State and the control of the Hudson River, and insure the complete overthrow of the rebellion. A part of this scheme had been in the plans of campaign of 1776, when General Carleton was to come down from Canada through Lake Champlain to the Hudson, and was to take New York. His retreat from Crown Point and going into winter quarters enabled Schuyler to send reinforcements to Washington, so that he gained the brilliant battles of Trenton and Princeton. 1777

In spite of all the skill of Washington, the British, at the end of 1777, had control of both the southern and the northern end of this long line of almost complete water communication between the sea and Canada. The mistakes of General Carleton had awakened the British to the necessity of taking the Hudson River, and the Americans to the importance of holding it. Lord Germain saw in his plan no possibility of failure.

The only parts of New York then inhabited were the villages of the valley of the Mohawk and of the Hudson. There was at this time an occasional fortified trading-place, but the total population of the State was only 170,000. The State ranked the seventh of the colonies, just after Maryland and Connecticut and just before South Carolina. It was then as commanding both from a commercial and military point of view as it is now. The English authorities knew that among its population there were many Tories. The people of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the most contiguous to New York, were lukewarm in their support of the Declaration of Independence, and they hoped much from that fact. As they held the sea and New York harbor, they were sure that they could make a successful attack on the colonies both in New York and in New England and south of it from the north. The British did not calculate either the effect of the invasion on the inhabitants or the results of failure. If they could have foreseen the defeat of St. Leger and the battle of Bennington, weakening their side and strengthening the other, the

1777 plan might have been changed, but if it had been successful it would have proved very disastrous to the Americans and perhaps have produced the failure of the cause which the British so much wished. The idea that their plan could fail for any cause never entered the mind of the British ministry.

It was evident then that the plan was absolutely dependent upon the harmonious and successful coöperation of all the forces involved, and on junctions being effected by the three commanders. One part of it was as necessary as the other. Having personal contact with Burgoyne before he went to Canada, Lord Germain gave him positive orders and left him no discretion as to what he should do, but he expressly directed him to follow the Hudson, whatever might happen, until he should effect his junction with the main army at Albany, taking for granted that the same precision would be used by the two others. On the other hand, no unconditional orders had reached Howe. He understood that he was to ascend the river in force, but he was left with discretionary power as to when and how he was to do it, and the reasons for this were for a long time unintelligible. It appears then that Burgoyne and St. Leger had prescribed orders, while Howe had received only discretionary ones. This was caused by the following curious incident: The dispatch containing the explicit orders for Howe was drafted and with many other papers awaited the signature of the minister. When he came to the orders for General Howe, he found that it had not been fair-copied and sent it back to the copyist to be corrected. It was just at the end of the day before his holiday. He hurried off to have the full enjoyment of his vacation, but when he came back the matter had escaped his recollection. The document was thrust unsigned into a pigeon-hole, where it was not discovered until some time after the defeat of Burgoyne was a foregone conclusion. St. Leger started as ordered, and met with a disastrous defeat, the news of which reached Burgoyne just after the battle of Bennington; but he had no choice but to move south, expecting to be reinforced by

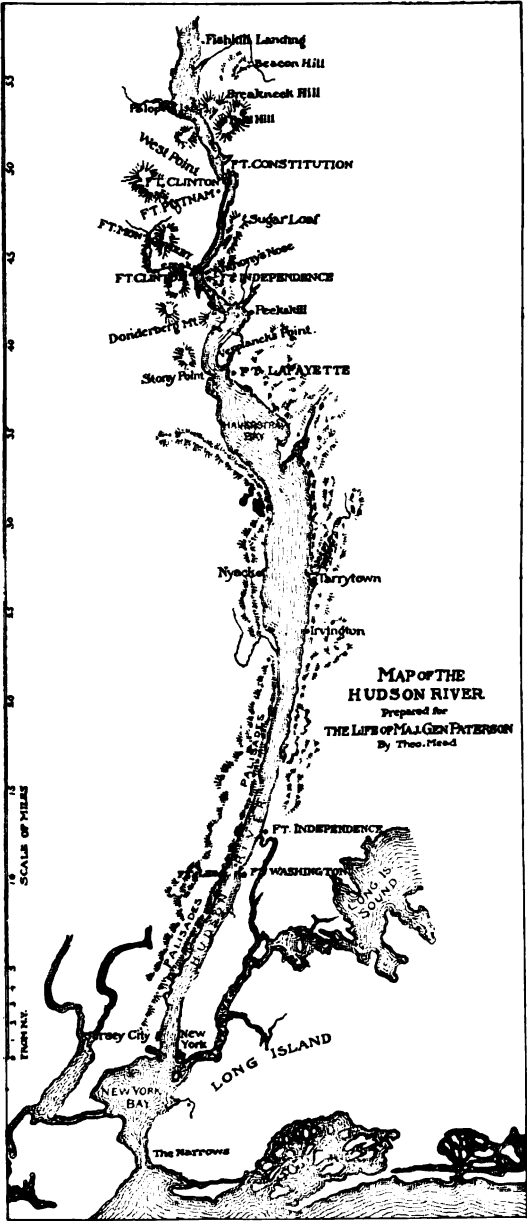
Howe coming north. General Lee, who had been taken prisoner, 1777 commenced a series of traitorous intrigues with the Howes, which, however, came to nothing. As Sir William Howe had no unconditional orders he felt himself at liberty to execute any maneuver that seemed to him to be wise. He thought it best, to insure the success of his own plans, to start south in order to capture Washington's army in New Jersey, and he put off the carrying out of the expedition to the north until he had captured it. He was convinced that he would then have plenty of time to go up the Hudson. Washington's superior strategy foiled his efforts, although he had only 8000 men and the British had 18,000. In the meantime Howe heard of the capture of Ticonderoga, and felt satisfied that Burgoyne could take care of himself, and set sail for Philadelphia, with the result of the defeat of Washington both at the Brandywine and at Germantown, but these victories made it impracticable for him to go to Burgoyne. He received in August the unconditional order to move north to the support of Burgoyne, but it was impossible for him to go then, and if it had been possible, he could not have reached the Hudson in time to coöperate with him. Burgoyne's orders left him nothing to do but to move south. Early in June he took the field with an army of 7900 men. He had with him some of the ablest officers and best-drilled troops in the British army, and was confident of success.

For the purpose of carrying out the belated instructions of Lord Germain and forming a junction with Burgoyne at Albany by destroying all the obstructions to the navigation of the Hudson River, Sir Henry Clinton, then in command of the British forces in New York, organized an expedition to capture all the forts, and to draw attention from Burgoyne, whom he believed to be on the point of capturing Albany. He embarked his forces at New York and gave out that he was only awaiting a favorable wind to sail on an expedition to the south. Information had not then reached him of St. Leger's defeat, nor that Burgoyne was already at that date closely pressed and found it very difficult to provide his army with food. He did not believe him even to be in a

1777 dangerous condition and expected a brilliant victory from his reinforcements reaching him.

In order to form an obstruction in the river to defend Fort Montgomery, a number of different plans were proposed. One of them was to form a boom or raft, constructed of four logs, fifty feet long, placed ten feet apart, with their butt ends pointed and armed with iron, and framed together by three cross-pieces, the rafts so constructed to be placed fifteen feet apart and connected by chains of $1\frac{1}{2}$ -inch iron. The rafts were to be anchored with their butts down-stream. In front of this boom, frames of timber made of pointed logs, fifteen feet long, framed together by two cross-beams and placed fifteen feet apart, and held together by a chain passing over them, were placed. The object of this structure was to receive and weaken the first shock of any vessel approaching, and so relieve the chain behind it. It had been proposed to use caissons, filled with stone, but this plan was abandoned. It was also proposed to use a chain instead of a boom, but finally the plan of a chain and boom was adopted, and to complete it expeditiously, it was determined to use the chain that had formerly been used to obstruct the Sorel River, which is the outlet of Lake Champlain. The plan which was finally adopted was to use a chain which was floated on logs, joined together, with frames like those in the former plan, placed in front of them, to receive the first shock. The obstruction was secured to the shore at Fort Montgomery by means of a windlass. The ends of all the logs which formed the frames after they were anchored in front of the chains were pointed with iron. As the chain from the Sorel might not be obtained in time, if at all, as it might be needed at Ticonderoga, the original plan of making a boom by connecting anchored rafts by chains, was finally adopted. The Continental Congress resolved to erect fortifications at West Point, to defend the chain, to make Anthony's Nose, which commanded Fort Montgomery, secure, and to erect a small battery on the shore to defend the ends of the chain.

MAP No. 7.



The Sorel chain was finally used as a part of the obstruction. It was first placed in position in October, 1776. Owing to its great weight, the chain being 1800 feet long, it broke twice during its construction, at intervals of a few hours. The whole structure was removed to New Windsor and the necessary alterations in the floats made. The obstruction was then completed and placed in position in March, 1777.

On the 4th of October, as soon as the wind was favorable, with 4000 troops the British landed at Verplanck's Point, the garrison of which retreated. Putnam, instead of seeing that his position was threatened, thought the demonstration was against the forts on the east side of the river and that Fort Independence was in danger, and against the remonstrances of his officers, took from the garrison 1200 men to defend that fort. Even the next day, when the enemy crossed the river to Stony Point and were on their way to Forts Montgomery and Clinton, he did not believe himself mistaken. The result was that these forts were only half garrisoned, as they were depleted by Putnam and a large number of the men were away getting in their winter grain. Governor Clinton was not so easily deceived. As soon as he heard that the British fleet had come up to Verplanck's Point, he adjourned the legislature, then in session at Kingston. He had hardly time to collect 400 of the militia and with these and 500 regulars to attempt a defense. The British reached Fort Clinton at about 5 P.M., and received a scornful refusal to surrender. At the same time Fort Montgomery was attacked by the British, aided by the vessels on the river. The British were repulsed three times, but as their numbers were five times greater than those of the garrison, who were mostly untrained militia, they finally surrendered. Some of the garrison were made prisoners, but both of the commanders escaped. Governor George Clinton crossed the river in a boat, and General James Clinton, commander of Fort Clinton, forced his way to the rear. When Putnam ascertained his mistake, the enemy was already in possession of the forts.

1777 The Americans had two frigates, the *Montgomery* and the *Congress*, two row galleys, and an armed sloop above the chain. When the fort surrendered they slipped their cables and tried to escape up the river, but the wind was contrary, and when they found that capture was probable, they set their vessels on fire while the crews escaped. The vessels were under full sail. When the fire reached the cannon upon deck, the heat fired them, but their discharge did not seem to injure any one. The vessels burned until the fire communicated to the magazines, when they exploded. Lighted by the flames from the burning vessels, those who escaped found their way to New Windsor, to which place General James Clinton also escaped.

The garrison at Fort Constitution, reduced to a mere guard, fired on a white flag, the bearers of which carried a demand for surrender, and that night abandoned the fort. On the morning of the 8th. 2000 men under General Tryon went up the river from Fort Montgomery, and landing on the east side, destroyed the fort, completing the destruction of the then fortresses in the Highlands.

From here they expected to go on their way unmolested to join Burgoyne at Albany. They thought that he would already have been there for some time and that by the close of the year the entire rebellion would have been crushed by their obtaining control of the great water-way and the severance of the colonies.

The forts, stores, and obstructions, which had cost the Americans a quarter of a million, were destroyed in two days by the British. Up to this time West Point, which had so often been called the "key to the passage of the Highlands," had not received a penny of the money and not a shilling had been spent on the erection of a single battery there.

The chain at Fort Montgomery was taken up and sent to England and from there to Gibraltar, where it was made use of in protecting the shipping. The British destroyed Fort Montgomery and Fort Constitution on the 6th of October,

1777. They repaired Fort Clinton and called it Fort Vaughn. 1777
They occupied the forts only twenty days and then destroyed their Fort Vaughn and retreated to New York, as they had just received the news of the surrender of Burgoyne and did not consider it safe to occupy their position any longer. The chain as a defense was a failure, and with the destruction of the forts which were the key to the upper part of the river, the passage of it was once more open.

It was at Fort Clinton in October, 1777, that Molly Pitcher, now famous in Revolutionary history, first appeared. When the British scaled the parapet of that fort, her husband, who was an artilleryman, dropped his port-fire and ran. Molly caught it up and discharged the last gun the Americans fired. In the following year, at Monmouth, Molly's husband was killed at his post, and the officer in command, having no one competent to fill his place, ordered the gun withdrawn. Molly had been to the spring to get water for the soldiers. She saw her husband fall as she came from the spring and heard the order to withdraw the gun. Dropping the bucket, she seized the rammer, determined that the gun should not be put out of service for want of a person to fill her husband's place, and vowed that she would avenge his death. She remained at the position until the close of the battle and served with great courage and fidelity, attracting the attention of every one near her. On the following morning, General Greene presented her, all covered with blood and grime as she was, to General Washington, who, in admiration of her bravery, appointed her a sergeant, and at the close of the war recommended her name to be placed on the half-pay list for life. She always appeared with the army in costume, wearing an artilleryman's coat over her dress, and a cocked hat. She was a great favorite with every one and was always called "Captain Molly." After the war she lived near West Point and died in 1789.

To further defend the Hudson River obstructions were placed at Pollopel's Island, just below Fishkill, which consisted

1777 of *cheveaux de frise*, formed of square cribs of timber, filled with stones, from the top of which, at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees, logs, pointed with iron, extended, so as to reach within a few feet of the surface of the water. They were sunk at short distances across the channel, so as to present to approaching vessels a continuous row of spears, which would pierce their bottoms and cause them to sink. The breaking of the chain at Fort Montgomery before its completion led the secret committee to adopt this plan. It was found that the width of the river from shore to shore, at this place, was 3500 feet, and the channel of the river was eighty feet deep up to near the shore of the island. The main channel is near the center of the river and is about 530 feet broad. The water shallows gradually to the shore on both sides. This seemed to be the only place where such kind of an obstruction was possible. The Convention of New York was very earnest in urging Congress to obstruct the river in this way, but as there were all kinds of delays and the work was not undertaken by the secret committee, the Convention of New York, on the 27th of November, passed a resolution, proposing to do the work at its "own hazard and expense," and offered General Schuyler, who had first suggested this kind of obstruction, the superintendence of the work. A letter was written to General Schuyler, asking him to accept, and another to General Washington, asking him to confirm the appointment of General Schuyler.

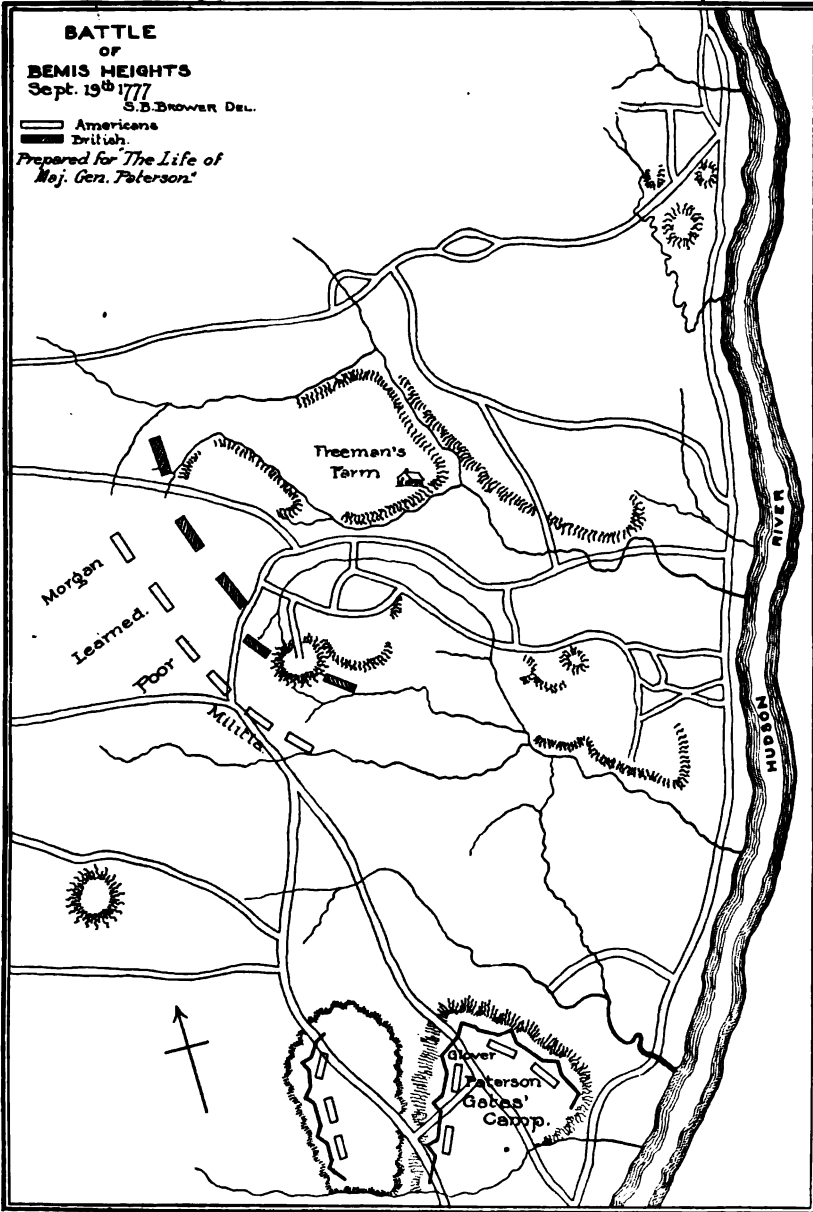
About this time the secret committee held a conference with General Heath, in command at Peekskill, and General Clinton in command of the Highlands, and as the result of this conference, the Convention, at its session on November 30th, was informed that the obstructions proposed at Pollopel's Island were practicable. They then declared themselves ready to act, as they had the power to take the construction of the obstruction on themselves. It was determined to place 500 men under the command of General Clinton at that point, and to commence the work at once, in case they could be provided

with three hundred axes. The other tools had been furnished by the Continental stores. The Convention at once resolved to furnish three hundred felling axes "by purchase or collection," and the right "to impress the same when there is more than one in a family" was given to its officers. Timber which had been collected at Poughkeepsie for the Fort Montgomery obstruction was ordered to be immediately rafted to New Windsor. Three tons of $1\frac{1}{2}$ - and $1\frac{3}{4}$ -inch iron were ordered, and £400 were appropriated to supply it. This action rendered the appointment of General Schuyler unnecessary, and he was requested to confer with General Clinton. The place selected for the construction of the *cheveaux de frise* was New Windsor. At a meeting of the Convention on April 26, 1777, £2000 sterling were appropriated for the work. The works were not completed until the following year, in the spring of 1778, and were not called upon to be of any service.

The Hudson River was now open. The battle of Bennington, instead of being a great assistance to him, as Burgoyne had hoped, had been a disaster. He had sent Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, one of his best officers, with 500 picked men, and 100 Indians, had reinforced him with Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, two battalions, and two cannon. In the expectation that he would meet a great number of Tories, he had sent a skeleton regiment, fully officered, which he expected would return more than full, but he did not get a single volunteer. Baum had been killed, the Indians had deserted, and not more than 100 men had returned to him, and he had lost 1000 stand of arms. He was now in need of reinforcements. He was also obliged to depend for all his supplies on shipments from England, by way of Quebec. His orders to advance left him no discretion; he could not retreat, though he might have, if he had acted in time, and taken a different route, still have reached Albany. He needed stores for thirty days. How could he collect them? In order to advance at all, he had to drag nearly two hundred boats over

1777 two long portages. The greatest distance he could hope to make was one mile a day, but he had no alternative but to move on. Some of his best troops had been annihilated by farmers, gathered suddenly, and he now asked himself whether what had happened to them might not be the fate of his whole army.

To prepare for his march, on August 14th Burgoyne had built a raft bridge over the Hudson at Saratoga, which was afterward carried away by a rise in the river. His forces, however, were dispirited by their defeats. The ranks of the patriots were swelled by the news of his disaster at Bennington and by the report of the murder of Jane McCrea. It was necessary that he should do something to restore the British prestige, and he hoped that the southern commanders would produce a diversion on the Hudson which would draw away some of the American forces from his front. His advance was, however, slow; his march was impeded in every direction. He could trust neither the Indians nor the Canadians. Ticonderoga, which had been garrisoned by three hundred regulars, had been recaptured with all its arms and stores by the Americans, who had burned the flotilla. A rapid movement of General Lincoln in his rear, and the danger of having his supplies cut off, forced Burgoyne to move forward. He could not retreat. Despondent himself and his forces dispirited, he was forced to move toward the position which had been carefully selected and well chosen by the Americans. He withdrew his forces from the north, abandoned his communications with Canada, built a bridge of boats to replace his rafts which had drifted away, crossed the Hudson on September 14th and strongly fortified himself at Saratoga. The American army, under General Gates, had been organized by Schuyler, and was the most efficient and best disciplined that had been raised. Owing to the generosity of France, who had added largely to the grants of New York, it was well equipped. It was somewhat larger than that of Burgoyne. On the right bank of the Hudson were ten



thousand men, including the militia, some of whom were veterans. The right wing, on the opposite side, commanded by General Lincoln, who was very popular, was made up of New England militia fresh from Bennington. It was composed chiefly of Paterson's, Nixon's, and Glover's brigades. They began the advance on the 8th of September; on the 12th they occupied an elevated position called, after the name of a man who kept a tavern there, "Bemis' Heights." It is a series of low hills at right angles to the Hudson, and almost reaching its western bank. The line reached across the low ground to the river. They were stationed there to defend the river and its approaches. Bemis' Heights is nine miles east of Saratoga, and is about half-way between the villages of Schuylerville and Stillwater. It had been fortified by Kosciusko, and by September 15th the works were nearly completed. General Gates had connected the camp with the east side of the Hudson by a floating bridge, to facilitate the crossing of reinforcements if they should be found to be necessary. This bridge was defended by a water battery, which also commanded the east shore of the river.

On the 14th and 15th General Paterson was brigadier of the day at Stillwater. On the 19th of September Burgoyne made the attack which resulted in the battle of Freeman's Farm. General Paterson, with his brigade of four Massachusetts regiments, with Glover's and Nixon's, which were in the right wing, was held in reserve. During the action one of his regiments was detached to the left wing, and did efficient service. Ten of his men were killed and one of his officers, Major Lithgow, was wounded. The left wing, with this regiment, which was nearly one third of General Gates' forces, which did the main fighting, checked with 1550 men the advance of the enemy, who many times outnumbered them, and frustrated their plan of attack. On the 21st a message from Sir H. Clinton in New York reached Burgoyne's camp telling him of the plans of attack on the lower Hudson, and asking him how long he could hold out. He replied, until October 12th. But although the English in New York opened the Hudson, it was of no use to Burgoyne. During the weeks that followed, the Massachusetts regiments

1777 were constantly engaged, and won for themselves, as did also their commander, just praise. The series of engagements which took place have been given various names by different writers. By those engaged in them they are called, in their correspondence, the battles of Bemis' Heights, because they were fought on those hills. They are in the town of Stillwater, so the engagements were called after the town; but Burgoyne was at Saratoga, and the surrender was made there. The town is also in the county of Saratoga. Hence these series of engagements are known under the four different names of Bemis' Heights, on which there were two sharp engagements, Stillwater, Saratoga, and Freeman's Farm, on which the first of the three engagements was fought. On the 22d of September General Lincoln took command of the right wing, replacing Arnold, who, in a moment of anger, asked leave to go to headquarters and join Washington, which was granted. He, however, did not go, but remained in camp a disturbing element, to perform acts of great bravery in the battle of Bemis' Heights.

“GEN. GATES CAMP NEAR STILLWATER,

“Sept 22d 1777—

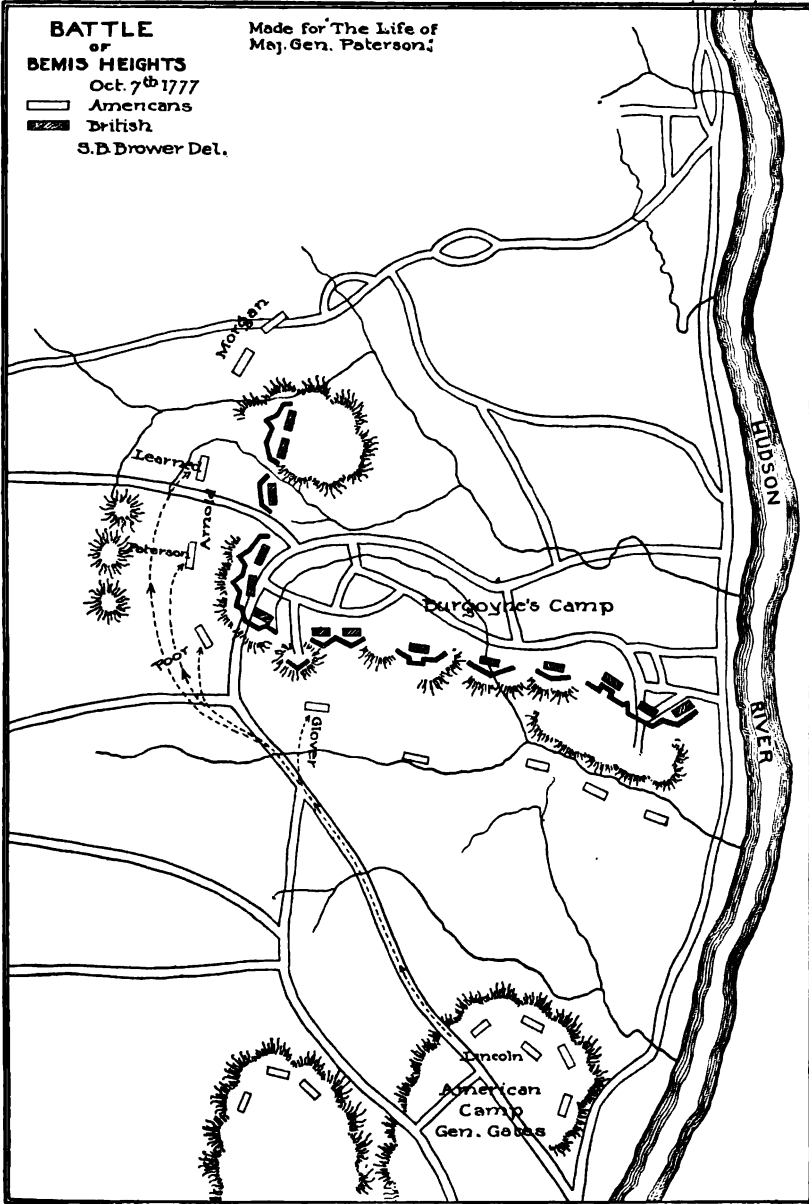
“Immediately upon Gen. Lincoln's arrival in camp he rec'd command of the right wing consisting of Nixon's, Paterson's, and Glover's Brigades, with the eastern militia. Gen. Lincoln had no immediate share in the action at Bemis Heights, Oct 7th because the right wing remained at their lines to defend the river side of the American encampment—” *

The second battle of Bemis' Heights occurred on October 7th. † Its object was to secure a retreat for Burgoyne, either by forcing a way through the American lines or so to cripple that army that a retreat for the British would be practicable. The defense of the riverside was officially assigned to the right wing. The first fire of the British was too high, and did little or no

* “Life of General Lincoln,” by Francis Bowen, Sparks’ “Am. Biographies,” 2d series, vol. xiii.

† Map No. 9.

MAP No. 9.



damage. The Americans rushed on the enemy's batteries with great spirit. They were taken and retaken, until at last the British were forced to abandon them, and a retreat was ordered. Arnold could restrain himself no longer. Without any authority he assumed command. The soldiers recognized him, cheered him as he passed, and followed him wherever he led. He was very popular with them, and as he had only a few days before commanded them, they never questioned his authority. Paterson's and Glover's brigades were leading the troops; he took command of them and assaulted the intrenchments of Earl Balcarras, but as he encountered a strong abattis he was driven back under a heavy fire of grape and musket-ball. Meeting Larned's brigade, he took command of it also, and thus with these portions of Paterson's, Glover's, and Larned's brigades he threw himself at the head of the regiment in front, and so inspired the troops by his personal bravery that they rallied and attacked the great redoubt with such determination that in a single charge he drove the light infantry of Balcarras at the point of the bayonet from the abattis into the redoubt itself, where, exposed to the cross-fires of the two armies, he carried the works. Then meeting with other troops, he took command of them also, and captured the other intrenchments of the British, and was wounded just as he had secured the victory. Thus an officer who had no command won "one of the most spirited and important battles of the Revolution." At night General Lincoln's command, in which General Paterson was, relieved the troops who had done most of the fighting, and marched to the upper fork of the North Ravine shown on map No. 9. On the 8th General Paterson went to relieve General Morgan, who was cutting off all Burgoyne's foraging parties. That night Burgoyne abandoned his hospital and unnecessary baggage and retreated, in a heavy rain, across the Fishkill River. The bateaux containing his supplies were under constant fire. The point where he had first crossed the river was well guarded by the American forces. On the 10th, in a heavy rain, General Paterson frustrated the plans of the British, which, if they had

1777 been successful, would have opened a way for Burgoyne to Albany, so that he would have probably escaped, a misfortune which would have completely demoralized our army.

On the morning of the 11th General Gates was informed that Burgoyne had already started in the hope of being able to reach Fort Edward, leaving only a rear-guard in camp. A portion of the army came near being captured, but was saved, not without some loss, to accomplish the maneuvers which forced Burgoyne to surrender, by news brought by a British deserter, who informed them that Burgoyne's entire army was in battle array on the hill. The Americans finally occupied the heights in three quarters of a circle around Burgoyne. Burgoyne was harassed in every direction, and his army had no rest. In the afternoon Generals Poor's and Paterson's brigades came over Fish Creek with some field pieces and joined the troops on that side.

On the 12th Burgoyne ascertained that his retreat to the north had been cut off. His bridge of boats was commanded by the American guns; his supplies were exhausted; some of his best officers had been killed and others taken prisoners; his troops were worn out, for they had had no rest for more than a week; they were under short rations, and were, moreover, dispirited. He now abandoned all hope of receiving the reinforcements which he had been anxiously waiting for. On the 13th he sent a flag of truce to General Gates, asking for terms of capitulation. That night dispatches were received by Burgoyne, giving information of the capitulation of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, and that reinforcements had been sent to him, but it was too late. On the 16th General Gates reported 13,216 men fit for duty under Paterson, Glover, Nixon, Poor, Larned, and others. Outgeneraled and completely defeated, Burgoyne surrendered 5763 men on October 17, 1777.

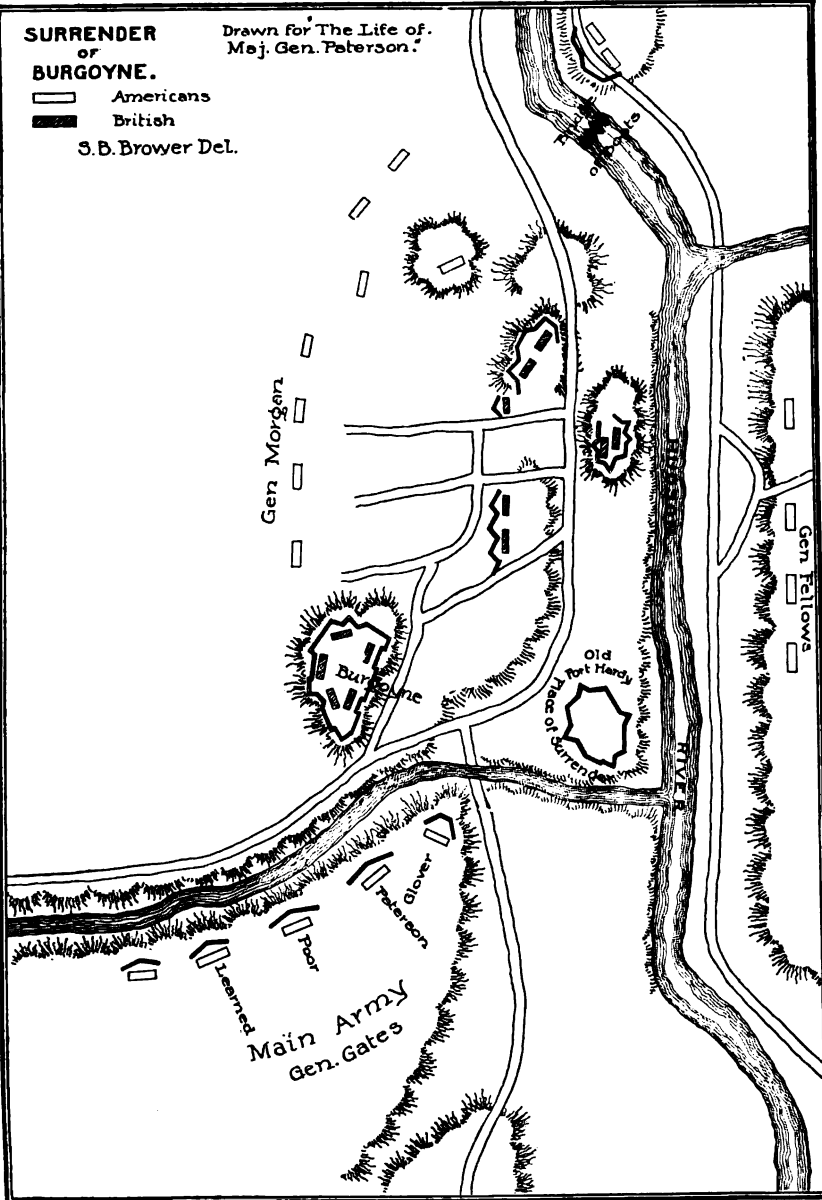
General de Riedesel, the commander of the German troops, ordered that no colors should be surrendered with the arms, but that the staves should be burned and the colors carefully packed up and placed in his baggage: and they were often sewed up in a mattress and were a constant source of anxiety

**SURRENDER
or
BURGOYNE.**

Drawn for The Life of.
Maj. Gen. Peterson.

- Americans
■ British

S. B. Brower Del.



to him until his departure from this country in 1783. One of 1777 the conditions of surrender was that the troops should be sent to England by way of Boston. After their arrival at Cambridge, Congress refused to ratify that article of the compact, and they were obliged, contrary to the articles of surrender, to remain in this country as prisoners of war. They were scattered through the States, many of them going as far south as Virginia. This question was decided mainly by the influence of Lafayette, who foresaw that if these troops were released, in case of a war between France and England they might be employed against France, and he wished to prevent this. To overcome any hesitation which Congress might have, Lafayette referred to the example of the English in the Seven Years' War, in relation to the capitulation of Closterseven. It had first been proposed by General de Riedesel to Burgoyne that he should insert in the terms of surrender that the troops should give up their arms and go to Canada and promise not to fight against America again. This was rejected by Burgoyne on the ground that General Gates would not accept it, but it was ascertained afterwards that, on account of the great scarcity of provisions, General Gates would have accepted it very gladly, in which case the troops would have been free to be used again.

Congress ignored the articles of surrender of Burgoyne granting the prisoners a free passage to England, and as this part of the terms of surrender was not ratified, the troops were held as prisoners of war. The greater part of them, from the 7th of November, 1777, were quartered on Winter, Prospect, and Cobble Hills, near Boston. The prisoners were commanded by their own officers. Two thousand three hundred British, under General Phillips, camped on Prospect Hill, and 1900 Germans, under General de Riedesel, were quartered on Winter Hill. During the winter of 1777-78 they were under guard of General Heath. They were not well cared for, and were quartered in the old barracks left after the siege of Boston the previous year. Their quarters were very miserable, and

1777 the soldiers suffered severely from cold. During all the time that they remained in this vicinity they were in a condition bordering on revolt. It was only the good judgment of those who were in command that prevented them from open mutiny. In November, 1778, they were removed to Rutland, and later to Virginia, where the larger part of them merged themselves with the population and never returned to England. The following spring, Burgoyne was allowed to return to England, as a prisoner of war, on parole. It was under such conditions that he became a member of Parliament, and was always ready to defend the American cause.

During all this time General Paterson and his whole command acted with the most distinguished bravery. His soldiers were full of courage and in the highest spirits. His officers were determined and well supported and did terrible execution against the enemy, and his brigade helped to turn what might have been a disastrous defeat into a glorious victory. He narrowly escaped death, his horse having been shot under him by a cannon-ball. After the battle, his brigade, with a militia regiment, which had enlisted for a short period only, was allowed a brief period of rest, and were then, with other brigades, ordered south, and took up their march towards New Windsor.

On October 31st General Putnam wrote to General Washington from Fishkill:

"DEAR GENL:

"Genls Poor's, Warner's, Learnard's, Paterson's Brigades, Col. Van Schaick's Regt. & Col. Morgan's Riflemen, amounting in the whole to five thousand & Seven hundred men, inclusive of Col. Morgan's Riflemen, who are directed to March immediately to join you, are on their way here from the Northward."*

On the same day General Glover's and General Paterson's brigades marched down and encamped at Quemens.

On November 2d Colonel Hamilton, who had on March 1, 1777, been appointed aid-de-camp to General Washington,

*"Correspondence and Journals of S. I. Webb."

wrote from headquarters at Fishkill: "General Paterson's, 1777
Glover's, and Nixon's brigades, and Colonel Warner's Mountain Boys to remain in and about Albany; barracks building for them."

On October 28, 1777, General Paterson presided over a court-martial at Stillwater. He then started with his brigade for the lower Hudson. It was with the greatest difficulty that transportation could be found for them, and then only enough to carry them to New Windsor, Orange County, above West Point, where they arrived on November 7th. His brigade was so far reduced in numbers at that time that it contained only 600 men fit for duty, and about 200 militia whose term of service had nearly expired.

On November 7, 1777, at Quemans the orders were:

"7 Nov. This morning at roll call there were orders read to the regt. to hold ourselves in readiness to march. Col. Sheperds to join Genl Paterson's brigade, and that Bd to embark this evening, and a militia regt. to join our brigade." *

On November 10th Colonel Hamilton wrote:

"NEW WINDSOR, 10 November, 1777.

"DEAR SIR

"I arrived here last night from Albany. Having given General Gates a little time to recollect himself, I renewed my remonstrances on the necessity and propriety of sending you more than one brigade of the three he had detained with him, and finally prevailed upon him to give orders for Glover's, in addition to Paterson's brigade, to march this way. As it was thought conducive to expedition to send the troops by water, as far as it could be done, I procured all the vessels that could be had at Albany fit for the purpose, but could not get more than sufficient to take in Paterson's brigade. It was embarked the 7th instant, and I expected would have been here before this, but the wind has been contrary, though they must, in all probability, be here to day. General Glover's brigade marched at the same time on the east side of the river, the road being much better there than on this side. I am this moment informed that one sloop, with a part of Paterson's is arrived, and that the others are in sight. They will immediately proceed by water to King's Ferry, and thence take the shortest route to you."

* "Journal of Ebenezer Webb," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 1890-1, second series, vol. vi.

1777 On the 18th General Paterson wrote to General Washington as follows :

*"To His Excellency Genl Washington **

"SIR

"Colo. Hamilton directed me when I arrived nigh the River to send an Express to Head Quarters for your Orders, and wait at the Ferry until he returned. I am now at Lamberton and expect to be at the Ferry on thursday Morning without fail. Mr. Haskill an Adjutant of my Brigade I send to you for Directions and Shall wait at the Ferry until his Return. Generals Poor & Glovers Brigade are just in my Rear Genl. Larned took the road thro' Sussex Expect he will be at the Ferry as soon as myself. Capt Gibbs desired me to inform your Excellency that he was waiting at Morris Town until the whole had passed to hurry them on as fast as possible

"I am Sir with respect your Excellency

"Most obedient humble Servt

"JNO PATERSON.

"Tuesday three Clock 18th Nov. 1777 "

On November 19th, General Washington wrote to Major-General Putnam :

"HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITEMARSH,

"19 November, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"I cannot but say there has been more delay in the march of the troops, than I think necessary ; and I could wish that in future my orders may be immediately complied with, without arguing upon the propriety of them. If any accident ensues from obeying them, the fault will lie upon me and not upon you. I have yet heard nothing of Poor's or Paterson's Brigade—or of Colo. Chas. Webb's Regiment. Scammel's Brigade will be at Coryells ferry tonight or tomorrow and Lee's & Jackson's Regiments arrived here this day. Be pleased to inform me particularly of the corps, that have marched and are to march, and by what routes they are directed, that I may know how to despatch orders to meet them upon the road if necessary.

"I am, &c.,

"Go WASHINGTON." †

On November 22, 1777, General Paterson went into camp at Whitemarsh, New York. On the 23d Washington reported to Congress that the regiments were sadly in want of shoes, stockings, breeches, and blankets, and that the brigades

* From the collection of E. G. Dreer, Esq., of Philadelphia.

† Correspondence of Samuel Blackley Webb.

of both Paterson and Poor together did not amount to more 1777 than 2300 or 2400 men.

One of the painful cases of discharge is shown by the order * given below and its endorsement:

"Joseph Morse a Soldier in Colo Marshalls Regiment being under peculiar Circumstances is by leave of his Excellency Genl Washington discharged the Service of the United States and from doing any Duty in said Regiment has leave to pass from Camp to Boston

"Given under my hand in Camp this 7th Day of March 1778

"JNO PATERSON B Genl"

(On the reverse.)

"DEAR SIR

"The Case of Mr Morse is very particular and His Excellency therefore desires that you may do what you think proper in this If he leaves the Service as a private Soldier, which is a station below his merit, he will come in, in some other way

"I am Dear Sir

"Your obedt Servt

"TENCH TILGHMAN.

"HEAD QUARTERS

"7th March 1778 "

Extract from a letter, dated Norwich, November 28th, which appeared in the *Independent Chronicle* of Boston on December 4th:

"I left Head-Quarters Thursday morning, 20th instant, on which day there seemed to be a general movement of the army; I will give you the account as nigh as I could come at it from the best authority, and from my own eye-sight, viz. . . . On the 21st, I met Generals Paterson, Learned, and Poor's brigades, at 7 o'clock in the morning, within 16 miles of Head-Quarters, where they expected to arrive by sun-set; they had marched 20 miles a day for 8 days going." †

In a letter "to the President of Congress," dated "Head-quarters, Whitmarsh, 23 November, 1777," Washington writes: "Generals Poor and Paterson, with their brigades, and Colonel Bailey with Learned's, are now in camp. The last arrived on Friday evening, the other two in the course of yesterday. I have not yet obtained returns of their strength; but from the accounts of the officers they will

* Revolutionary Rolls, vol. xlv., p. 378.

† American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1778 amount in the whole to 2300 or 2400 rank and file. But I find many of them are very deficient in the articles of shoes, stockings, breeches, and blankets." *

The British campaign for the possession of the Hudson River ended with the surrender of Burgoyne. It had lasted from May to October. During that time the British had lost some of their ablest officers and ten thousand men, killed or prisoners. The river, except at its mouth, was still in the possession of the Americans. The army which had won the victory, as it was composed largely of militia, disbanded almost as quickly as it had been organized. All that remained of it was a handful of enlisted Continental Regulars. The work of organizing a new army had to be commenced over again at once for the next campaign, although the close of the year 1777 found the entire country, except Long Island, Staten Island, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, in the possession of the patriots.

As the result of Burgoyne's surrender the British Government, in the hope of regaining the colonies, abandoned every measure for which they had commenced the war. On February 17, 1778, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, the act taxing tea, the repeal of the charter of Massachusetts, and renounced forever the right to raise a revenue in America. They gave power to commissioners to suspend any act of Parliament passed since 1763, and gave unconditional amnesty to all political offenders. The bill received the king's signature on March 11th. Commissioners were at once sent out to make arrangements for a treaty of peace. But it was too late. Congress refused to receive any proposition from them, or to entertain any suggestions whatever, unless the independence of the United States was previously acknowledged. The people everywhere received their proposals with derision and contempt, and even burned them under the gallows. The Americans were now determined to be independent of Great Britain. The war that had been previously waged to gain redress for wrongs now became distinctly a war for independence.

* Ford's "Writings of General Washington," vol. vi., p. 219.

ARRANGEMENT OF GENERAL PATERSON'S BRIGADE, 1777-80.

Brigadier-General : John Paterson, Commanding Third Mass. Brigade.

Brigade-Major * : Capt. William Goodrich, March—June, 1777.

" " Capt. Ebenezer Bement, June—July, 1777.

" " Capt. Elnathon Haskell, — to July, 1780.

" " Capt. Samuel Darby, July—Dec., 1780.

Aid-de-Camp : Lieut. Benjamin Shaw.

Inspector of Brigade : Col. Benjamin Tupper—at Camp Valley Forge.

REGIMENTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE.

<i>Tenth Regiment.</i>	<i>Eleventh Regiment.</i>	<i>Twelfth Regiment.</i>	<i>Fourteenth Regiment.</i>
Col. Thomas Marshall.	Col. Benj. Tupper.	Col. Samuel Brewer.	Col. Gamaliel Bradford.
Lt.-Col. Joseph Thompson.	Lt.-Col. Noah M. Littlefield.	Lt.-Col. Sam. Carleton.	Lt.-Col. B. Brackett.
Maj. John Woodbridge.	Maj. William Lithgow.	" " Ebenezer Sprout.	Maj. Samuel Tubbs.
" Nathaniel Winslow.	" Moses Knap.	Maj. Tobias Fernald.	" Joseph Morse.
		" Thomas Barnes.	" John Wiley.

NOTES ON THE foregoing brigade:

In his new rank as Brigadier-General, General Paterson was ordered to Fort Ticonderoga in the spring of 1777. There he served under Generals Schuyler and Gates,† taking part in the Saratoga campaign. His brigade was composed as above, after 1777, and formed part of General Gates' left wing under Major-General Benjamin Lincoln. [See note below.]

From Saratoga the command went south and wintered at Valley Forge, and after the battle of Monmouth in June, 1778, it encamped with the army at White Plains.

This brigade afterwards went with General Paterson to West Point, under the general command of General McDougall.

On January 1, 1781, the army was again reorganized.

* This is equivalent to the Assistant Adjutant-General of to-day.

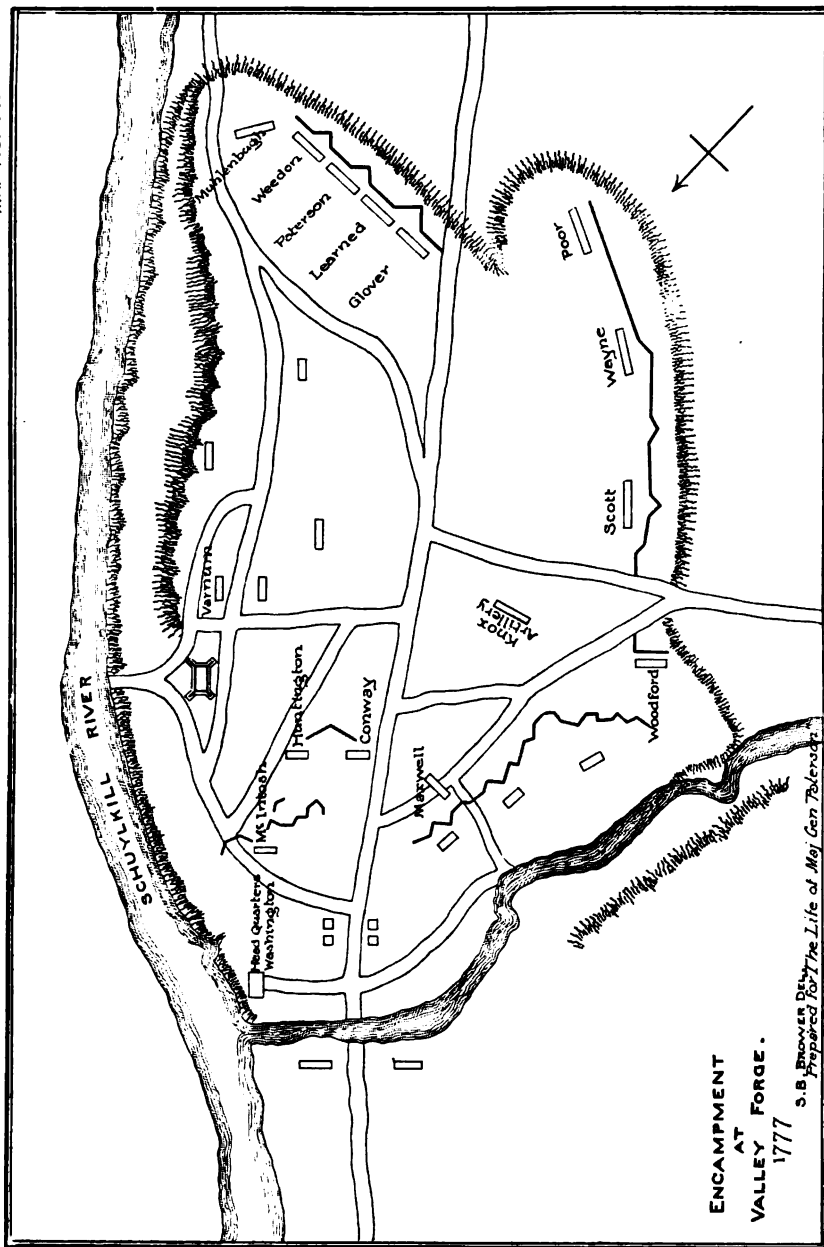
† While at Ticonderoga, General Paterson's brigade was composed of the regiments under Colonels Francis, Warner, Brewer, Marshall, and Bradford. It was in General St. Clair's Division. The brigade as given was the one as organized after he joined Washington's army 1777-8.

CHAPTER V.

VALLEY FORGE AND MONMOUTH.

1778 DURING the winter of 1777-8 General Paterson was at Valley Forge, and was one of the wisest advisers of General Washington. He was with Grover and Larned in General Lincoln's command, which numbered 1326 men and officers. It was a winter of great suffering, but was borne bravely. The army had neither sufficient clothing to protect them from the bitter cold, nor sufficient to eat.

The problems which Washington had to solve during the next few months were, to prevent the British from leaving Philadelphia, and to keep his own army, which was neither sufficiently clothed nor housed, together. Although the army were in a wooded country, they received the order to build cabins, with the openly expressed opinion that it was impossible under the existing circumstances, to house the army in such a way as to afford them sufficient shelter. When they came to carry out the plans which had been made for the camp, no one was more astonished than the soldiers themselves to find how quickly the trees were converted into log cabins. They were not comfortably housed, however. The Quartermaster-General had neglected his duty, and had not provided the supplies he might have done. Congress had done nothing. Gates, who, following Schuyler's plans, had defeated Burgoyne, was so impressed with his greatness that he ignored Schuyler, and did not even mention Arnold and Morgan, who had done so much towards the victory. He reported directly to Congress, ignoring



ENCAMPMENT
AT
VALLEY FORGE.
1777

S. B. BROWDER DEL. Prepared for The Life of Maj Gen Tolson.

Washington, who heard of the surrender through private sources and was obliged to ask Gates for information. Gates knew that Washington was in great need of reinforcements, but he kept his army idle at Saratoga. Washington was obliged to send a special messenger for Morgan and his riflemen, and when they did come they arrived too late. As Gates had displaced Schuyler, he now thought that he could supersede Washington, and he entered into a cabal, known as "the Conway Cabal," to effect it. At one time he seemed likely to gain his end, but, fortunately for the country, he failed. Thus some of the officers, upon whom Washington should have been able to rely, were conspiring to supersede him. Washington, fearing that publicity might give information to the enemy, did his duty silently, his heart bleeding for the sufferings which he could not relieve. His efforts to alleviate their condition were constant, while the men themselves acted like heroes, for it requires more courage to bear such ills every day, than to perform acts of valor under the impulse of battle. The inefficiency of both the Quartermaster and the Commissariat Department was all the greater since Congress had seen fit to change their organization and had filled the offices with men incompetent to do the duty, so that for a time these departments fell into almost hopeless confusion. When, on December 23d, 1777, Washington had been obliged to write to Congress that the army had neither sufficient clothing or blankets, and that for the want of shoes the route to their quarters could actually be traced in the snow by the blood in their footprints, "hogsheads of shoes, stockings, and clothing were lying at different points on the roads and in the woods, perishing for want of teams, or money to pay the teamsters." If at that time the British, whose entire time and thoughts were taken up with pleasure and dissipation in Philadelphia, had attacked, there would have been hardly 2000 men fit to oppose them. But this was not all. Brave and efficient officers were not remembered. Their juniors were promoted over their heads. One of the worst cases was that of Bene- 1778

1778

dict Arnold. It is no excuse for his conduct, but there is little doubt that the seeds of that dissatisfaction, which eventually made him a traitor, were sown by the repeated want of recognition which he suffered here and elsewhere.

The camp was turned into a military school for officers and men by Baron Steuben. Besides tactics, the men learned faith, both in the cause and their commander, who shared every privation with them, and this faith, with the military discipline, led to the subsequent victory of that winter. General Paterson, who had come from Saratoga, was everywhere, when there was any duty to be done, and was always efficient. At the express wish of Washington and under the orders of General Green, on January 20, 1778, he undertook the superintendence of the fortifications of the left wing, which he did very efficiently. The following were his orders:

“ VALLEY FORGE, January 20th, 1778.

“ Genl. Paterson is kind enough to undertake the Superintendence of the Fortifications of the Left Wing. All the men not on Duty in the respective Brigades in this wing are to parade every morning at 9 o'clock, to be employed in the Fortifications of the Camp under the Genl's directions. Each Brigade is to furnish a Field officer to comd the Fatigue parties. All officers not upon duty under the rank of a Field officer are to turn out with the men. His Excellency the Comdr in Chief Desires the officers to exert themselves to put the Camp in a Defenceable condition as soon as may be.”*

In the meantime France, who had all along been friendly to the colonies and hostile to Great Britain, saw her opportunity. If the conciliatory measures which had been proposed were successful, this would be lost, and on the 6th of February, 1778, France signed a treaty with the United States. The situation in England was desperate. She was piling up a debt at the rate of nearly one million pounds sterling a week. By the treaty she had recently made she could hire no more troops in Europe. Some of the Puritans were disgusted with an alliance with a Roman Catholic power, which had let loose the Indians on their frontier, and from this dissatisfaction Parlia-

* General Greene's orders as given in Colonel Febiger's MS. Order Book, quoted in “ Yale in the Revolution,” p. 84.

ment hoped to gain something; so on April 7th the Duke of 1778
Richmond gave notice that he should introduce a bill for the
immediate withdrawal of all the forces in the colonies, and to
make peace on any terms that Congress would dictate. In
contending against this measure, Lord Chatham was struck
with his death in the House of Lords. The bill was not passed.
The king was enraged at the defeat of Burgoyne, and he called
on all loyal Englishmen to help him wipe out the national dis-
grace. The army expected reinforcements. General Amherst,
the king's military adviser, had recommended that forty thou-
sand men be sent to America at once. The suggestion had
been disapproved, but for a time enlistments were easily made.
The Americans, however, had earnest friends in England, and
among them were Fox, Burke, Richmond, and Chatham.
Chatham's famous speech, "If I were an American as I am an
Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country
I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never,"
created great sympathy for the Americans held as prisoners
of war, and subscriptions for their benefit were numerous
and liberal. This sympathy and the French alliance caused
Parliament to pass the conciliatory bills. While Parliament
was talking softly the king and his ministers used no kindly
phrases. They delayed the execution of the bills as far as they
could. At length, when delay was no longer possible, they sent
out commissions whose members were of the same mind as the
king and his ministers. The bills were sent first in the expec-
tation that they would pave the way for an amicable settlement
favorable to England. They arrived in New York on the 14th
of April, and were at once published by Governor Tryon. The
effect which they produced was entirely unexpected. The Brit-
ish troops were so enraged at the giving up of all that they had
unsuccessfully fought for, that they threatened to mutiny if
the provisions of the bills were carried out. When they were
published outside of the British lines it was found that no one
was conciliated. The provisions of the bills were not even
looked upon as serious. The commission did not arrive until
June. They had almost unlimited power to arrange terms of

1778 settlement. On the 6th of June Sir H. Clinton officially communicated the bills to Congress. On the 17th of June by a formal vote Congress refused to entertain any offers of conciliation from the royal commissioners, unless accompanied by an acknowledgment of independence and an immediate cessation of the war. It published the bills of Parliament, which were everywhere received with contempt, and in many towns were burned under the gallows. On July 2d, and again on July 18th, they offered Congress complete independence in everything but foreign affairs. These letters were not answered, and every attempt on the part of the commission to open negotiations was turned into ridicule. Enraged at their failure, they issued a proclamation asserting that an alliance between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic country was monstrous. They declared that if the colonies did not submit within forty days, the whole object of the war should be to devastate the country. This proclamation was at once published by Congress, and was received everywhere with the scorn and derision it deserved. In many towns it was publicly burned by the hangman. In October the commissioners returned to England, having lost any influence they might have had, had they acted with less temper.

Valley Forge is memorable, not only on account of the suffering endured there, but also for the cabals against Washington, and more than anything else, the inefficiency and mismanagement of Congress. Congress was in reality a body without power. It could advise the States, but it could not enforce taxation. It could not support the army. None of the States had raised their full quota, and there was nothing left for it but to raise money on promises to pay. It had already printed more than \$40,000,000 worth of such promises, and during the first half of 1778 it issued \$23,000,000 more. This paper was based on nothing, and consequently was worth little, and no law could give this *fiat* money intrinsic value which it never had. The country had lost faith in Congress, but they had gained faith in Washington. The enthusiasm in the army for the man who had shared all their sufferings and privations, who from his simple uprightness of character had

come out triumphant in spite of the cabals against him, 1778 amounted to devotion. It had been a long, dreary winter, full of trials and unnecessary suffering, but when spring came the army had forgotten their privations, while they remembered with pride the victories of the previous year. Baron Steuben communicated to the army not only his enthusiasm, but imbued them with his principles. They became so well drilled that officers and men were confident of success. While drilling the army Baron Steuben prepared a book on tactics, which continued in use long after his death, as it was so well adapted to our needs. He had the ability not only to teach others, but also to learn how to adapt the military principles of Europe to the condition of these soldiers. Notwithstanding the evils which resulted from the mismanagement of Congress, the army marched from its camp in the spring better and stronger than it had ever been before.

During the campaigns of 1777, 11,000 of the 20,000 who were present at the surrender of Burgoyne, were militia called out to meet emergencies that were local, and they went back to their homes when these were over. There was no standing army of any size possible, in the face of the fact that the people feared that it might become not only a burden but a danger to their liberties, and they fully supported Congress in the way the army was managed, which prevented the forming of experienced officers and men. The misery of Valley Forge had resulted from gross mismanagement. On December 23d Washington had 2898 men "unfit for duty because they were barefoot and otherwise naked"; for want of blankets they were obliged "to sit up all night by fires, instead of taking comfortable rest, in a natural and common way."

On February 11th General Paterson issued the following order:

"Notice is hereby given to all officers, and soldiers of my Brigade who have no limited time of absence, and all such whose Furloughs are out, likewise those who have been in the Enemy's hand, as Prisoners—and since returned home,—are ordered forthwith, to repair to their several Regiments at Head Quarters in Pennsylvania—without any further delay—on penalty if Soldiers to be Dealt with as De-

1778 settlers,—if officers as Disobeyers of Genl Orders—by order of Genl Washington.

" JNO PATERSON,
" B. Genl."

" CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE }
" 11th Feby 1778." * }

On March 29th the following orders were issued :

" HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE,
" March 29, 1778.

" The following officers are appointed Brigade Inspectors, and are to be obeyed and respected as such in their several respective Brigades. Col. Tupper, — in General Paterson's Brigade." †

The following parade orders were issued in March :

" The Brigades of Glover, Learned, Paterson, Weedon & Mulenberg, will be paraded on Glover's Parade at 4 o'clock precisely. Glover will form two Battallions the others each one—Each Battallion consisting of 5 Capt. 11 Subalterns (escorted by the colours) 27 Non Com Off. & 80 Files an Adjutant of each Battallion will attend on Horseback. Exclusive of the above the two Battallions of Glover & the Batt of Learned will parade a Detachmt of 1 Cap 3 Subs. 9 N com 1 Drum & 60 Privates. Patersons Weedon & Mulenberg will furnish the same number the 1st Detachment will parade on the right & the 2d Detachm' on the left of the Whole.

" The several Inspectors & Brigade Inspectors of the Army will attend at the above time & place." ‡

On March 26th the office of major-general of the day was dispensed with. The parole was " Mingham," and the countersigns " Exter " and " Eaton." On the 19th of April General Washington issued the following orders :

" HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE,
" April 19th, 1778.

" The Sub-Inspectors will each superintend the discipline of each Brigade according to the following Division, viz : Mr. Trenant, Woodford's, Scott's and McIntosh's ; Lieut.-Col. Brooks, 1st and 2nd Pennsylvania, Poor's and Glover's ; Lieut.-Col. Davis, Larned's, Paterson's,

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Revolutionary Orders of General Washington.

‡ American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

Weeden's and Muhlenburgh's; Lieut.-Col. Barber, Maxwell's, late 1778
Conway's Huntington's and Varnum's." *

With the advent of spring, new courage was born in the hearts of both officers and men. The British, and the powers of Europe generally, were sure that such a "rabble," as they called the American army enlisted only for short periods and constantly made over, could never make headway against disciplined troops. They looked on the result of the battle of Bennington as "an incident only." They considered the defeat of Burgoyne as "one of the chances of war." They did not yet realize that the Americans were fighting for principle. They fortunately did not know of the real state of the army at Valley Forge. Washington, with the unselfishness which characterized him, kept his personal annoyances from the public, and so prevented the enemy from gaining any knowledge of the weakness and suffering of the army. These sufferings excite to-day our deepest sympathy, from the knowledge, that we now have, that they were wholly unnecessary, and resulted entirely from incompetency and mismanagement. Many of the foreign officers who had obtained positions were an incumbrance. Others, like Lafayette, de Kalb, Steuben, and some others, were of the greatest service. The army, thanks to Steuben, was now well drilled, and was awaiting with impatience the order for a forward movement, which was soon to be given.

General Sewal at Valley Forge records that on Sunday, May 10th, and again on Sunday, May 24th, Divine service was held in General Paterson's brigade.

General Howe, the British commander, who had practically placed himself in the position of one defeated by his taking of Philadelphia, for "the rebel capital" was of no use as a base for military operations and only weakened the military force, as it had to be defended, was disgusted and convinced that the war was useless, and wanted to resign; but our army was all ready for action. In April, 1778, at a council of war held to deter-

* *Revolutionary Orders of General Washington, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.*

1778 mine what was to be done, there was a great variety of opinion as to the details, but a singular unanimity as to the fact that a vigorous campaign should be made. Some wanted to attack Philadelphia, which was evacuated without a blow as an untenable position on June 18, 1778; others wanted to attack New York, and others both places at once; others had doubts of the advisability of any attack until the army should be strengthened or the British army indicate its plans; but all agreed that vigorous measures must be taken and that the army, both officers and men, had never been in a better condition. The officers were ordered in the early spring to prepare in the best way for an immediate and sudden movement. The evacuation of Philadelphia was equivalent to a victory and was regarded as such, and it was very desirable that the moral effect of it should be at once followed up. On April 7th General Paterson was one of a general court-martial of which General Poor was president. On April 15, 1778, General Gates was ordered to repair immediately to Fishkill, and to take command of all the troops on the North River and the whole Northern Department.

The news of the arrival of the French reinforcements, which had landed at Portland, Me., reached Valley Forge on the 7th of May, 1778. The same day the news of the destruction of the public stores at Bordentown reached them, but the one more than counterbalanced the other. At nine o'clock on that morning the army was called to parade, and every demonstration of joy, such as the beating of drums and the firing of cannon, was the order of the day. The parade was not one to attract a brilliant assemblage, but it aroused hope in the minds of the men and in the defenders of their liberties in a way that few things had done up to this time. The spirit of the army was and had been distinctly a religious one. It was a day of thanksgiving, and as it had been usual for the ministers in their various towns to announce to the people the things for which they were on special occasions to be thankful, the chaplains explained the occasion of their review to the soldiers. The treaty of alliance was read, and at its conclu-

sion huzzas were given for the King of France, for Washington, and for the Republic of the United States. Military salutes were fired by the soldiers, and after these exhibitions of joy the review was terminated by the singing of "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow." 1778

There is an heroic side to this scene which we to-day find it difficult to appreciate. We are apt to think of the country united then as it is now, but the Continental Congress did not at that time represent the country as our government is now supposed to do. Its powers were not defined; it was not at unity with itself; it was full of cabals. It had not supported the army as it should have done. Its support had come from requisitions on the States, which had honored them as they could. In fact, the army was almost the only real representation of unity that there was, but it was constantly being disbanded and re-formed. The army had suffered great losses, and these were not so much those from death or wounds on the field of battle, as from sickness, produced by the negligence or incapacity of Congress. The mortality was owing to exposure from want of proper equipage and clothing, of privation and even starvation from an inefficient commissary department. It was now likely to fall between the illusory hopes of Congress of an immediate termination of the war owing to foreign intervention, and the recognition of the independence of the States by European powers, and the fact that some of the States replied slowly to the requisitions made on them for men and supplies, as they recognized that the struggle was not to terminate at once. Such a scene could only be possible when the men who made up the army were satisfied of the justice of their cause, and determined with God's help to fight for it. Notwithstanding the cabals of individuals and the incapacity of their rulers, Congress itself had been moved by the sympathy shown to them by France and Spain, to declare, as they did on April 22d, that they would not treat with the English commissioners "unless they shall either withdraw their fleets and armies or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the States."

1778 We are very apt to think of the soldiers of the Revolution arrayed in the costumes which have been assigned to them in the various historical paintings, and as being uniformed at all times in their continental costumes; but ordinarily, and especially on this occasion, there was very little of the pomp and circumstance usual in ordinary army reviews. There was no public to admire the scene, and the scene itself was not a brilliant one, but to them it was in the highest degree inspiring. There were few uniforms, many of the men had no shoes, and a great many had no coats, or their coats were made of what remained of their winter blankets. The men had been drilled all through the winter by Baron Steuben, and were soldierly in their bearing, but there was nothing of the pageantry and show which were displayed two weeks later by the British army just before the evacuation of Philadelphia. There was thanksgiving in every heart and determination in every face, and their fixed resolution to obtain their freedom was shown in the fact of their muster, and their way of expressing it was in the hymn which closed the parade and which came with wonderful earnestness and was at the same time the expression of their thanksgiving for the assistance which they had already received and their determination to obtain their freedom by God's help.

On the 27th of May, 1778, Congress ordered "That a battalion of infantry shall consist of nine companies, one of which shall be of light infantry; the light infantry to be kept compleat by drafts from the battalion, and organized during the campaign into corps of light infantry :

" I.—INFANTRY.

"That the battalion of infantry consist of

		Pay per month.
Commissioned.	1 Colonel and Captain	75 dollars.
	1 Lieutenant Colonel and Captain	60 "
	1 Major and Captain	50 "
	6 Captains each	40 "
	1 Captain Lieutenant	26 2-3ds.
	8 Lieutenants "	26 2-3ds.
	9 Ensigns "	20 dollars.

Paymaster,	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to be taken} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{the line.} \end{array} \right\}$	20 dol.	$\left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{to be taken} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{the line.} \end{array}} \right\}$	In addition to their pay as officers in the line.	Pay per month. 1778
Adjutant,		18 "			
Quart. master,		18 "			

1 Surgeon		60 dollars.
1 Surgeon's Mate		40 "
1 Sergeant Major		10 "
1 Quartermaster Sergeant		10 "
27 Sergeants	each	10 "
1 Drum Major		9 "
1 Fife Major		9 "
18 Drums and Fifes	"	7 1-8d.
27 Corporals	"	7 1-8d.
477 Privates	"	6 2-8ds.

" Each of the field officers to command a company.

" The Lieutenant of the Colonel's company to have the rank of Captain Lieutenant.

" II.—ARTILLERY.

" That a battalion of artillery consist of

Commissioned.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right.$	1 Colonel		100 dollars.
		1 Lieutenant Colonel		75 "
		1 Major		62 1-half.
		12 Captains	each	50 dollars.
		12 Captain Lieutenants	"	33 1-3d.
		12 First Lieutenants	"	33 1-3d.
		36 Second Lieutenants	"	33 1-3d.

Paymaster,	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to be taken} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{the line.} \end{array} \right\}$	25 dol.	$\left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{to be taken} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{the line.} \end{array}} \right\}$	In addition to their pay as officers in the line.
Adjutant,		16 "		
Quart. master,		16 "		

1 Surgeon		75 dollars.
1 Surgeon's Mate		50 "
1 Sergeant Major		11 23-90ths.
1 Quartermaster Sergeant		11 23-90ths.
1 Fife Major		10 88-90ths.
1 Drum Major		10 88-90ths.
72 Sergeants	each	10 dollars.
72 Bombardiers	"	9 "
72 Corporals	"	9 "
72 Gunners	"	8 2-8ds.
24 Drums and Fifes	"	8 2-8ds.
336 Matrosses	"	8 1-3d.

1778

" III.—CAVALRY, OR DRAGOONS.

" That a battalion of Cavalry consist of

		Pay per month. Dollars.
Commissioned.	1 Colonel	93 3-4ths.
	1 Lieutenant	75
	1 Major	60
	6 Captains	each 50
	12 Lieutenants	" 83 1-8d.
	6 Cornets	" 26 2-8ds.
	1 Riding Master	83 1-8d.

Paymaster,	{ to be taken } 25 dol.	} In addition to their pay as officers in the line.
Adjutant,	{ from } 15 "	
Quart. master,	{ the line. } 15 "	

1 Surgeon		60 dollars.
1 Surgeon's Mate		40 "
1 Sadler		10 "
1 Trumpet Major		11 "
6 Farriers	each	10 "
6 Quart. master Serj.	"	15 "
6 Trumpeters	"	10 "
12 Sergeants	"	15 "
80 Corporals	"	10 "
824 Dragoons	"	8 1-8d.

" IV.—PROVOST.

" Resolved, That a Provost be established, to consist of

		Pay per month.
1 Captain of Provosts		50 dollars.
4 Lieutenants	each	83 1-8d.
1 Clerk		83 1-8d.
1 Quartermaster Sergeant		15 dollars.
2 Trumpeters	"	10 "
2 Sergeants	"	15 "
5 Corporals	"	10 "
43 Provosts or Privates	"	8 1-8d.
4 Executioners	"	10 dollars.

" This corps to be mounted on horseback, and armed and accoutered as light dragoons.

" Resolved, That in the engineering department three companies be established, each to consist of

		Pay per month.	1778
1 Captain		50 dollars.	
8 Lieutenants	each	88 1-8d.	
4 Sergeants	"	10 dollars.	
4 Corporals	"	9 "	
60 Privates	"	8 1-8d.	

"These companies to be instructed in the fabrication of field works as far as relates to the manual and mechanical part. Their business shall be to instruct the fatigue parties to do their duty with celerity and exactness: to repair injuries done to the works by the enemy's fire, and to prosecute works in the face of it. The commissioned officers to be skilled in the necessary branches of the mathematics: the non-commissioned officers to write a good hand.

"*Resolved*, That the adjutant and quartermaster of a regiment be nominated by the field officers out of the subalterns, and presented to the commander in chief or the commander in a separate department for approbation; and that being approved of, they receive from him a warrant agreeable to such nomination.

"That the paymaster of a regiment be chosen by the officers of the regiment out of the captains or subalterns, and appointed by warrant as above: the officers are to risque their pay in his hands: the paymasters to have the charge of the clothing, and to distribute the same.

"*Resolved*, That the brigade major be appointed as heretofore by the commander in chief, or commander in a separate department, out of the captains in the brigade to which he shall be appointed.

"That the brigade quartermaster be appointed by the quartermaster general, out of the captains or subalterns in the brigade to which he shall be appointed.

"*Resolved*, That two aids-de-camp be allowed to each major-general, who shall for the future appoint them out of the captains or subalterns.

"*Resolved*, That in addition to their pay as officers in the line there be allowed to

An Aid-de-Camp,	24 dollars per month.
Brigade Major,	24 " "
Brigade Quartermaster,	15 " "

"*Resolved*, That when any of the staff officers appointed from the line are promoted above the ranks in the line out of which they are respectively appointable, their staff appointments shall thereupon be vacated.

"The present aids-de-camp and brigade majors to receive their present pay and rations.

1778 "Resolved, That aids-de-camp, brigade majors and brigade quartermasters, heretofore appointed from the line, shall hold their present ranks and be admissible into the line again in the same rank they held when taken from the line; provided that no aid, brigade-major or quartermaster, shall have the command of any officers who commanded him while in the line.

"Resolved, That whenever the adjutant general shall be appointed from the line, he may continue to hold his rank and commission in the line.

"Resolved, That when supernumerary lieutenants are continued under this arrangement of the battalions, who are to do the duty of ensigns, they shall be entitled to hold their rank and receive the pay such rank entitled them to receive.

"Resolved, That no more colonels be appointed in the infantry; but where any such commission is or shall become vacant, the battalion shall be commanded by a lieutenant colonel, who shall be allowed the same pay as is now granted to a colonel of infantry, and shall rise in promotion from that to the rank of brigadier: and such battalion shall have only two field officers, viz., a lieutenant colonel and major, but it shall have an additional captain." *

The pay of the following officers was at different times during the war fixed as follows:

	Pay per month.		Pay per month.
Major-General	\$166	Assistant Adjutant-General	\$50
Aid-de-Camp	50	Clerk to Adjutant-General	40
Brigadier-General of Cavalry,	156 1-4	Inspector-General	300
Brig.-General of Infantry	125	Paymaster-General, in the	
Brigade Chaplain	50	currency of the day	166 2-3
Quartermaster-General	166 2-3	Deputy Paymaster-General	75
Deputy Qr. Mr. Gen.,		Asst. Paymaster-General	70
Southern Army	125	Director of Hospitals	102
Deputy Qr. Mr. Gen., Main		Dep. Director of Hospital	100
Army	75	Surgeon of Hospital	90
Assistant Qr. Mr. Generals	30	Apothecary and Purveyor	92
Wagon-Master	60	Stewards of Hospitals	31
Dep. Wagon-Master, South-		Com'ry-General Mil. Stores	83 1-3
ern Army,	50	Field Commissary Mil. Stores	50
Wagon Conductor	20	Dep'ty Field Com. Mil.	
Adjutant	125	Stores	40
Deputy Adjutant-General	75	Commissary of Prisoners	75
		Asst. Com'ry of Prisoners	40

* "Journal of Congress," vol. iv., p. 310.

Pay per month.		Pay per month.		1778
Geographer to the Army	\$60	Geographical Chain-Bearer	\$15	
Assistant Geographer	30	Conductor of Artillery	40	
Judge-Advocate	75	Forage-Master	80	
Deputy Judge-Advocate	60	Director of Artificers	40	
Clothier-General	250	Brigade Inspector, in addi-		
Deputy Clothier-General	75	tion to pay in the line	80	
Inspector of Rations	166 2-3	Quartermaster-General	80	
Riding-master of Cavalry	33 1-3	Dep. Quartermaster-General	60	

This pay, if had not been made in a depreciated money, would have been ample for those times, if it had not been for the fact that its payment was often delayed for six months or more. As it was, it was only sufficient to about bankrupt the officers and men who had no private resources.

Both officers and men were tired of the inaction at Valley Forge. General Varnum, writing to General Sullivan on the 27th of May, said :

“ All the Brigadiers except Poor, Paterson, and myself have been home on furlough. I do not think it possible to find contentment in this kind of abstinence much longer.”

Valley Forge had been a good school for both officers and men. The inaction was soon to cease.

The English had spent the winter in gayety at Philadelphia. The possession of the rebel capital had not only been of no advantage to them, it was an embarrassment, and morally it was a defeat. The Americans had spent the winter at Valley Forge in hard work to bring up their discipline, suffering at the same time the greatest privations. When spring came the Americans were ready for hard fighting and more determined than ever ; but the English were feeling the effects of a wasted winter.

Many of the officers who had come out with d'Estaing had asked for service in a time of enthusiasm and excitement, and with extravagant ideas both of promotion and emolument, and, finding that their expectations were not realized, had returned to France at the expense of Congress. Not more than

1778 ten remained, among whom were Lafayette, Pulaski, and Kosciusko. Lafayette was given a command, Pulaski was put into the cavalry, and Kosciusko into the corps of engineers.

During the winter of 1777-8 the Highlands of the Hudson had been carefully reconnoitered. General Gates was put in command of West Point on December 2, 1777. It had previously been under the command of General Parsons. All the forts and other works in that vicinity had been destroyed by the British, and it was under discussion what points on the Hudson should be fortified. As there was considerable difference of opinion as to what point should be selected, the Council and Assembly of New York State was asked to consider it, and they, on January 13, 1778, fixed on West Point as the key to the situation. General Putnam was chosen to command, but as he was obliged to be absent, as he was on the court of inquiry in relation to the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, General McDougall was put in command and ordered to press the work of fortification as much as possible. Kosciusko was selected as the engineer, and for the time this became the matter of absorbing interest in the Highlands.

With the opening of spring the officers of the American Army began to make plans for a summer campaign. The discipline which had been introduced into the army at Valley Forge by Baron Steuben made them feel greater confidence in themselves than they had heretofore done. In the previous fall, on November 24, 1777, at a council of war called to consider the desirability of an attack on Philadelphia, only four generals had voted for it. Eleven, including General Paterson, voted against it. Now, however, three generals, and among them General Paterson, voted for it. Four wanted to attack New York. One wanted to attack both cities at once. Three others advised to do nothing until the British should in some way show what their plans were. This was also General Washington's opinion.

On May 7th General Paterson received the following orders: "The Honorable Congress of February 3d requires all officers

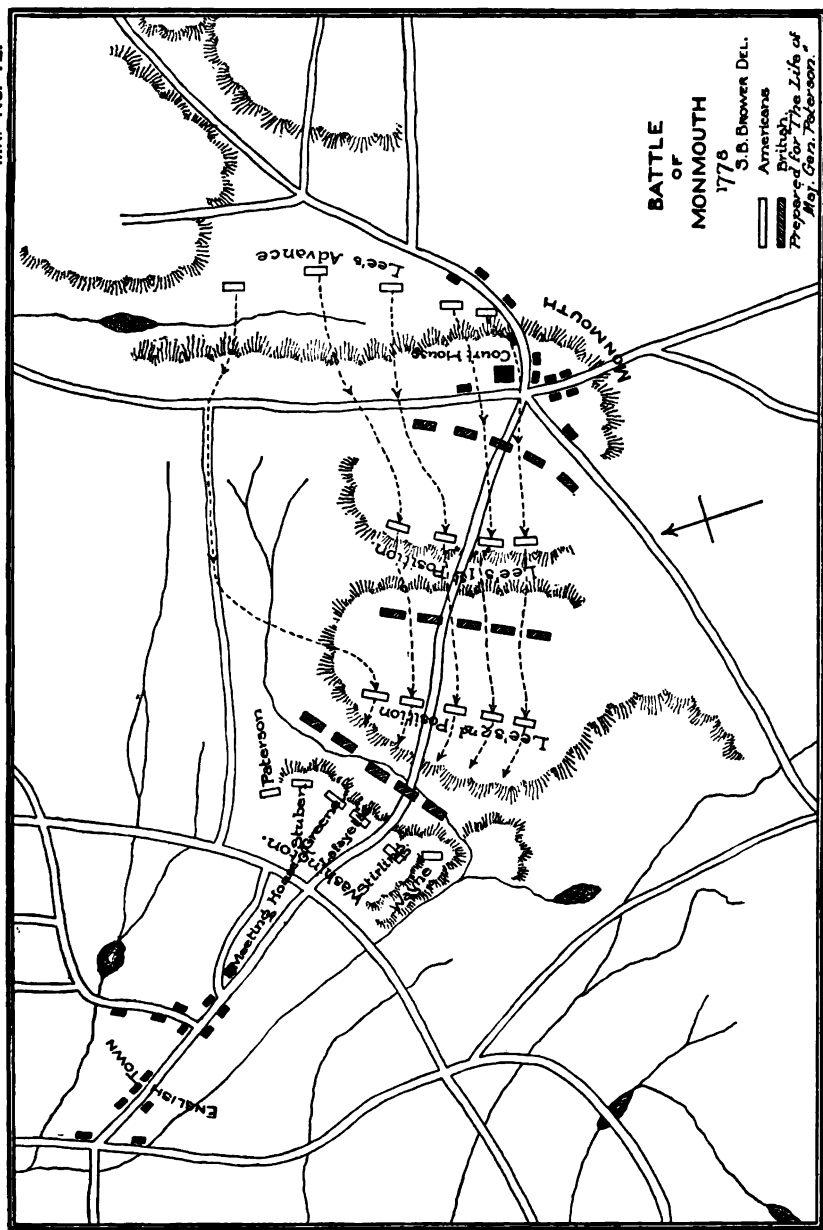
holding commissions to take the oath of allegiance to the free United States, Brigadier-General Paterson to grant certificates and administer the oath to his own brigade." One of these Valley Forge certificates is in the author's possession. During the month of May every general except Poor, Varnum, and Paterson asked for and received a furlough. They remained on duty.

Howe had found it much more difficult to provision Philadelphia than New York, and as soon as the season permitted had dispatched foraging parties to secure food and other supplies. Against these, detachments had been sent out, which often prevented them from obtaining any supplies. As the Americans did not present a very soldierly appearance, and were without uniforms, the British ceased to fear them. They had already forgotten Saratoga. Lafayette, who was a major-general, was put in command of 2100 picked men and five pieces of artillery, to prevent these incursions, and to watch for signs of the evacuation of the city. General Clinton had replaced General Howe, and realized fully his dangerous position. To clear his way for the evacuation, and capture Lafayette, on May 19th he sent 5000 men against him at Barren Hill; but Lafayette foiled them and joined the American Army in safety.

On May 18th, 23d, 30th, and June 6th General Paterson was officer of the day. Toward the middle of May it became apparent that the British could not hold out much longer in Philadelphia. They feared that they would be blockaded in that city by the French fleet, which might easily have been done. On the 18th Washington in general orders ordered all the forces to be prepared for any sudden movement. On May 23d he ordered them to be ready to march at a moment's warning. It had been a long, dreary winter, and the troops were ready for any advance. The order for the disposition of the army on the march to the Hudson River was given in May by Washington. Paterson, Glover, and Larned were in the 4th Division under Baron de Kalb. On June 6th they were still at Valley Forge. On the 17th Washington asked counsel of

1778 his generals, who advised him to disencumber his army of all baggage, and be ready to give chase to the British as soon as the city was evacuated. On the morning of the 18th of June Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia. Before sunset of that day the Americans marched in and occupied it, and Arnold was sent to take possession and command. The evacuation of the city commenced at three o'clock in the morning, and by ten o'clock the whole British army of occupation was in New Jersey. They were encumbered with a heavy baggage train, said to have been twelve miles long, and took the road toward Sandy Hook. Their army numbered about 12,000 men, thoroughly equipped and organized. The American Army was somewhat larger, but was not well equipped. Washington left Valley Forge at once to pursue Clinton through New Jersey, but he did not reach him until June 28th.

Washington wished to engage the retreating enemy. He reached Hopewell, which is about five miles from Princeton, on the 24th of June. He at once called a council of war, to determine whether it would be advisable to hazard a general engagement. Six generals, under the leadership of Lee, advised against it. Six others, among whom were Paterson and Lafayette, voted for it. Paterson wished to have 2500 to 3000 men sent forward at once. Washington himself believed that this was a most favorable time to force a general engagement, and that the danger from the effect on the public mind, of allowing an army with twelve miles of baggage train, to cross New Jersey unmolested, was far greater than any defeat which was feared owing to the superior equipment of the enemy. Notwithstanding the great heat and the fatigue of the army, who had been almost starved on their march, he determined to force an engagement. He ordered a detachment under Lafayette and another under Lee to worry the rear-guard of the enemy and to reinforce that part of the main army which was nearest to the British, and sent Steuben to reconnoiter. Washington was moving faster than Clinton, and on a line nearly parallel to him, and was getting ahead



of the British on the line of their retreat. Clinton had nothing to gain by fighting, and hoped to avoid it. He only wished to get safely to New York, with as little delay as possible. He was moving east toward Monmouth, and hoped to reach Sandy Hook safely, as from there he could embark his troops, under the cover of the British fleet, to New York. His right wing took the advance and convoyed his baggage train. His left wing, composed of about 8000 men, followed in the rear, and was exposed to attack. 1778

On the 25th Steuben reported the British as marching toward Monmouth Court-House, which, however, they did not reach until the 27th. On the 28th, finding that the British were moving away from their position, Washington ordered Lee, who commanded the advance, which was composed of 6000 men, to attack the enemy. Lee at first declined. If he had persisted, the command would have devolved on Lafayette, when the result would probably have been the capture of the whole of Clinton's army; but Lee reconsidered, and asked to be put in command and to be allowed to lead the attack. The orders to Lee were positive and explicit. He was to attack at once, and the main army was ordered to move forward to Freehold to support him. Lee went off to the right, to draw, as he said, the enemy into the ravines there, so that he could destroy them. He marched and countermarched the troops, to no purpose. He was not present when the attack was made, which was, by his orders, carried out so slowly as to be entirely useless. Clinton, finding himself in danger, moved first, and attacked Lee's troops and drove them back in disorder. Lafayette, who began to suspect that all was not right, sent for Washington, who, when he arrived on the ground, found Lee's troops in full retreat. There was no necessity for the retreat. Lee's force was ample, and it was, as the events proved, well disciplined. The advantage was on Lee's side, and there was every reason to hope that he would capture some of the best troops in the British Army at the very commencement of the fight. When the attack began Lee ordered first Wayne and then Lafayette

1778 to make only feints, to draw away the attention of the enemy; and they, supposing that the orders had been changed by Washington, did so. The reason that Lee gave for these orders was that he did not believe that his troops could stand up against the British soldiers. Lee then ordered the regiments on the left to fall back, and the others, seeing the movement, which they thought was a retreat, became panic-stricken. Lee gave orders that the retreat should be continued. Neither officers nor men knew what they were retreating for, and the fear of an unknown danger became greater than it could have been in the face of one that was known. Lee, as he had determined to do, either because he was piqued or because he wished the British to capture both Washington and his army, had thrown his entire command into complete disorder and confusion. Washington, coming up at this moment and finding the rout complete, ordered Steuben to reform the troops on the left, and Wayne those on the right. Steuben collected the left behind the creek at Englishtown. General Paterson coming up, after they were formed, with three brigades of the second line, was ordered to place his troops a little more to the rear, on the high ground. While Steuben was re-forming the troops he met Lee, who had been ordered to the rear, and he tried to dissuade him from carrying out his orders, on the ground that he must have misunderstood them; but without avail. So accustomed had the men at Valley Forge become to follow the lead of Steuben and so convinced were they that his methods of discipline had made the army more efficient than it had ever been before, though closely pursued and in complete rout, they wheeled into line and re-formed under fire at his command with almost the same precision that they had done on the parade ground or at the famous Thanksgiving review at Valley Forge. From being mad with a nameless fear they became cool and acted with the bravery of veterans. This unexpected stand completely checked the British advance. Foiled in this direction, Clinton attacked Wayne. This was led by the grenadier guards, commanded by Colonel Moncton. They had been

drilled in bayonet practice, and were very skillful in it. The 1778 colonel made a speech to them in which he urged them to charge like men and to keep up the reputation of their corps. The two forces were so near that every word was heard by the Americans, and probably influenced them quite as much as it did the British soldiers. The grenadiers made a charge at quickstep, expecting to drive everything before them. The Americans waited quietly until they were quite close, and then met them with such a destructive fire that the grenadiers were not only driven back in confusion, but, though they fought like heroes for the body of their colonel, who fell at the first fire, they were obliged to retreat, leaving it in the possession of the Americans. This repulse of the élite of the British Army by men who had just been rallied from an ignominious retreat is one of the most striking pictures of the Revolution.

Clinton now attacked the left, but was also driven back. General Paterson and his troops fought with great bravery in repelling this attack. The fighting continued until five in the afternoon. When it ceased, the British were retreating. Steuben was then ordered to the front to pursue the retreating enemy, and started at once with General Paterson and his troops. Night came on before he reached them, and he and the rest of the American Army camped on the battlefield, intending to renew the fight the next morning; but when the sun rose Clinton was gone, and was so far on the way to Sandy Hook that it was useless to pursue him.

It was a hotly contested fight. Both parties claimed the victory, but the Americans held the field of battle. The battle was full of incidents. Painters have not tired representing Molly Pitcher taking her husband's position at the cannon and fighting in his place with all the vigor and bravery of a veteran soldier. Writers have described Washington's righteous wrath when he met Lee. Historians have praised Wayne for his magnificent fight under disadvantageous circumstances. Army men are never tired of extolling Steuben's drilling of the men and forming them when in full retreat into an orderly

1778 line of battle so that they more than saved the name they had lost. Steuben's drilling at Valley Forge and his command of the men and Washington's generalship saved Monmouth, and taught the world again that in the defense of their rights determined men are a match for disciplined soldiery.

This was the last general engagement which took place at the north. It was fought with desperation on both sides. The treachery of Lee came very near being fatal to the cause of American independence. The proof of his treason was not discovered until eighty years after the battle. Had any other general been in command the whole of Clinton's army would probably have been captured, or at least have suffered such a defeat that the war would have been ended with the battle of Monmouth. As it was, owing to his treason it was prolonged, with much useless suffering on both sides, until the surrender at Yorktown. There is no doubt now that Lee had been negotiating with the enemy while he was a prisoner, and was giving aid and counsel to the British while he was in New York. It is believed that he intended to overthrow Washington, and either to try to replace him by causing his defeat, or after the defeat to treat with the British, making the best terms he could for himself, and in that way to gain great credit with the enemy for having terminated the war. He was a traitor whose intentional disregard of his orders caused greater injury to his adopted country than the treason of Benedict Arnold. He lived through his court-martial, because it was not then suspected that it was possible that he could have been guilty of such a crime, only to be dismissed by Congress. Notwithstanding his talents, he died the death of an adventurer, and has gained for himself the contempt and disdain of every American citizen.

After the battle neither side claimed a decisive victory. The English lost 450 in killed and wounded; the Americans, 230. The English retired to commence, as their commissioners had threatened to do, a warfare on the defenseless, with the aid of savages. On July 3d, a week after the battle of Monmouth, the massacre of Wyoming took place.

THE COUNCIL AT HOPEWELL, N. J., PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH
FROM THE MONUMENT AT FREEHOLD



GEN. DU PORTALE	GEN. LAFAYETTE	GEN. WASHINGTON	GEN. WAYNE
BARON STÜBEN		GEN. SCOTT	GEN. WOODFORD
LORD STIRLING	COL. SCAMMELL		GEN. GREENE
GEN. HENRY KNOX		GEN. PATERSON	GEN. LEE
BRIG. GEN. ENOCH POOR			

It was a piece of barbarous savagery, which was stigmatized 1778 in England as it should have been, and as it richly deserved. It had been, however, ordered by the ministry, and they neither disavowed their order nor abandoned their policy. Its only effect was to make the Americans more determined than ever to sever forever all connection with a country whose government could indorse such butchery.

In the council held previous to the battle of Monmouth General Paterson was one of the most earnest advocates of the plan of attack which proved so successful. On one of the bas-reliefs of the monument erected in 1884 by the State of New Jersey, he is represented in the group of the thirteen officers comprising the council as the second figure beside Lafayette, earnestly advocating the plan which Lee so entirely disapproved of, and which he came so near turning into a disastrous defeat. The cut on the opposite page, taken from the bas-reliefs on the monument at Hopewell, New Jersey, commemorating the battle, shows General Paterson advocating with General Lafayette the plans for the battle.

From this time on, the British in the north acted entirely on the defensive. They maintained their foothold, but with the exception of a few marauding expeditions they did not again take the offensive in the north. Their efforts were confined to the south, with varying but only temporary success, but in the long run the final result was always failure.

After the battle of Monmouth Washington saw that it was useless to try to prevent or to further molest Clinton's retreat, and the army moved leisurely up to White Plains and went into camp near the old battlefield of October, 1776. It arrived about July 25th and remained there up to September 15th. Clinton went to New York, so that both armies occupied the same positions as two years before, but this time the Americans had been the aggressors. In the order of battle which was formed, General Paterson's brigade was assigned to General Gates' division on the left of the line, and was known as the 3d Massachusetts brigade. It was composed of the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 14th Massachusetts line, under Colonels Mar-

1778 shall, Tupper, Brewer, and Bradford, and so remained until after January 1, 1781. It was the largest Continental encampment of the Revolution. The troops were drilled in the tactics which Baron Steuben had devised at Valley Forge. During this encampment uniforms were devised, officers' ranks settled, and the regimental and brigade colors fixed. Washington, in a letter to General Heath dated September 6th, writes: "I do not know what device General Paterson will choose to have upon his colors. I will speak to him and desire him to inform you." In an autograph letter of General Washington, he gave to General Paterson the choice of his brigade colors.

The following orders of General Washington are taken from the Orderly Books of the 9th Massachusetts regiment :

"PARAMAS, July 11th 1778.

"The left wing of the army to March tomorrow morning at one o'clock ; those Gentlemen belonging to it concerned in the case of Genl Lee are directed to stay behind and attend the Court Martial.

"The Genl to beat at 12 o'clock and the Troops to march at one by the left—Genl Patterson in front."

"HEAD QUARTERS WRIGHT'S MILL July 22nd 1778.

"The troops will be Brigaded as follows and the necessary changes are to be made accordingly.

Woodford's	{	Heath Crooper Mason Freibeger	Paterson's	{	Brewer Marshall Bradford Tupper
------------	---	--	------------	---	--

"North Carolina, Nixons, Paterson's, Late Learned's, and Poor's Brigades are to compose the Left Wing of the first Line."

"HEAD QUARTERS WHITE PLAINS 26th July 1778

"Maj. Genl. Baron De Kalb. Brigadier Paterson, to be officers for the day.

"A General Court Martial will set tomorrow morning at the New Dining Room at the Left of the Park near Genl Morris' Quarters, to try all such Prisoners as shall be brought before them. Col. Stewart will preside. Members—Lt. Col. Ball, Maj Fernald, and a Capt. from the following Brigades, North Carolina, Woodford's, Scotts, 1st & 2nd Maryland, 2nd Penn., Clinton's, Persons, Huntington's, Nixon's, Paterson's, Late Learned's, and Poor's."

General Paterson was often brigadier of the day.*

1778

On August 3d, the officers for the day were Major-General Gates and Brigadier-General Paterson. On August 7th, Major-General Baron De Kalb and Brigadier-General Paterson. On August 12th, Major-General Gates and Brigadier-General Paterson. On August 19th, Major-General McDougall and Brigadier-General Paterson. On August 30th, Major-General Putnam and Brigadier-General Paterson. On September 4th, Major-General Gates and Brigadier-General Paterson. On September 7th the following orders were issued :

“ HEAD QUARTERS Sept 7th 1778

“ For the present and until the circumstances of the Army will admit of a more perfect arrangement, it is to be divided and arranged as follows, viz,

“ 2nd (Division) by Maj. Gen^l Gates—Brigades—Poor's, Late Learned's, and Patersons.”

“ HEAD QUARTERS Sept 9 1778

“ Maj. Gen^l Putnam—Brigadier Paterson.”

“ HEAD QUARTERS BEDFORD Sept 14th 1778

“ Gen^l Poor's Brigade to furnish an Advance Guard commanded by a Subaltern toward Danbury, and Gen^l Paterson to furnish a Subaltern Guard in the rear toward the Grand Camp and Late Learned's, on the western road towards Fishkill to prevent all straggling from any suspicious person entering the environs of the camp, and to be in constant readiness as they expect order every moment to march.”

On September 9th, Sewal records in his Diary that :

“ A small party of our men in boats went across the sound Last night & burnt 3 vessels took 10 men & killed 11 & took a Large Quantity of Baggage.

“ Gen^l Poores, Patersons & Learnards Brigades are Ordered to be Redy to March to Morrow morning at Nine o'Clock.

“ 10th. we are Redy to march but Due not.

“ 11th we march this morning at sun Rise towards Danbury 8 miles & incamp.”

The following extracts are taken from Sewal's Diary :

“ On Sunday Aug 23 1778 attended divine service at Gen. Patersons Brigade.

*The office was a routine of duty and not a post of honor.

1778 (Extract of a Letter from an Officer, Dated Camp White Plains, Sept. 10, 1778.)

"This moment orders have come out for Poor's, Paterson's, and Larnard's, brigades to march; for which they are now parading; their destination a profound secret, (supposed near Rhode Island,) the above brigades are commanded by that northern hero Gates.

"Friday, September 11, 1778. Poor's, Paterson's and late Larned's Brigades marched under the command of Maj. General Gates. Moved to the East-ward and encamped at North Castle. Rec'd my wages to Sept. 1 amounting to 198 dollars.

"Sunday Sept. 20. 1778. Attended Divine Service in Genl. Paterson's Brigade A.M. and at Danbury in the afternoon." *

"HEAD QUARTERS DANBURY Sept. 18th 1778

"Genl Paterson will furnish a Guard on the Road leading to Newtown, Late Learned leading to Bedford, and Genl Poor on Fairfield Road." †

"HEAD QUARTERS DANBURY Sept 19th. 1778

"Genl McDougall's Division will on their arrival at Danbury march and Encamp on the ground at present occupied by Genl Paterson's Brigade. Genl Paterson will move his Brigade as soon as possible to the Right of Learned, and Learned will encamp on the Right of Poor." †

"HEAD QUARTERS DANBURY Sept. 21st 1778

"The Parade in front of Genl Paterson's Brigade is appointed for General Parade where the Brigade Major of the Day will attend to march off the Guard at 8 o'clock A.M.—4th A Picquet on New Town Road at Starr's, a Captain Commander furnished from Genl Paterson's." †

"HEAD QUARTERS Sept. 22nd 1778

"Officers for the Day—Brigadier—Paterson. Col. Wood, Maj Secol, B. M. Harwood Inspector from Nixon's Brigade." †

On September 15th the army moved north, passing through Bedford and Wright's Mills to Fredericksburg. At Fredericksburg the army began to break up for winter-quarters. General Paterson with Gates' division went to Danbury on September 20th. On that day orders were issued for the intrenching tools to be sent to the rear of General Paterson's

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† Orders of Major-General Gates.

brigade. On October 8th General Paterson presided at a 1778
division court-martial at Danbury. General Gates' division
was ordered to Peekskill. General Gates himself was ordered
to Boston. He arrived there on November 6th, and took
command of that department which included Boston and
Providence on November 9th. In the last week of October
General Gates, with the three Massachusetts regiments, went
from Danbury to Hartford. In the first week in November
General Paterson was present at a great dinner given in Hart-
ford to General Gates and his officers with every possible
patriotic demonstration.

Sewal's Diary says :

" Wednesday October 21, 1778. Paterson's Brigade marched at 9
o'clock encamped at Newtown, 10 miles.

" Hartford Conn., Monday November 2, 1778. Cold uncomfortable.
Mustered Paterson's & late Larned's Brigades for October. Genl. Gates
left here for Boston.

" Saturday, November 21, 1778. Paterson's and late Larned's Bri-
gades marched for Danbury. Encamped at Farmington. Cold.

" Saturday, December 5, 1778. Returned to Fishkill found both
Brigades had moved off and left the Baggage and tents standing.
Paterson's marched in the night and Larned's this morning, as there
was an appearance of the enemy coming up the river.

" Monday, December 7, 1778. Paterson's Brigade lay about 12 miles
below Fishkill nearly opposite West point. They marched on to the
Point in the evening. I tarry at Fishkill yet.

" Thursday Dec. 31. 1778. A committee from Paterson's, Nixon's
and late Larned's Brigades met and drew a petition representing griev-
ances of the army to the general Court of the Massachusetts State." *

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HATED HIGHLANDS.

1778 GENERAL MCDUGALL took command for the winter of the "Posts in the Highlands," which comprised West Point and all the fortifications on both sides of the river near it. It included all the forts as far down as the lower Fort Clinton. There was no special locality known as the Highlands. It was a large area covering all the points more or less commanded or directly connected with West Point. Of all the posts in the United States, West Point was deemed by Washington the most important. From September, 1778, until the close of the war, the main Continental Army was almost constantly in the Highlands or in their vicinity. The life of the garrison, during the winters, was as full of hardship as the more famous seasons at Valley Forge and Morristown, and but for the patience and patriotic endurance of officers and men, the defenses could not have been completed in time for the dangers that threatened in the summers of 1779 and '80, when Clinton occupied Stony Point and Arnold all but betrayed the key to the Highlands.

Major-General McDougall, who was in command of West Point, wrote on December 7th to General Paterson at Peek's-kill :

"HEAD QUARTERS, PEEK'S-KILL, Dec. 7th, 1778.

"SIR.

"Accept my thanks for the laudable example you have shown to our Brigade since you marched from Fishkill and please to present them to the Brigade, for their alertness and alacrity on the march and their soldierly patience in the field at this inclement season. I wish you not to take the command for a few days. When I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, I will fully and satisfactorily explain to you

the reasons which induce me to this. In the meantime make yourself 1778 acquainted with the Post.

"Inclosed you have a copy of mine to Col. Malcom. Peruse it— If the answers are fully given it will open to your mind the state of the Post and other matters of moment for you to be informed of. The time of several bodies of mechanics are expired today or next it. The reason of giving the preference of covering to them is obvious, and that to the Carolinas equally so. When you estimate what number of officers and men of yours can be taken into Houses, Barracks, Hutts, and the Carolina Tents, please to order down a sufficient number of the best of your Marques and Tents to cover the others, and return the surplus into the D. Q. Master General store at Fishkill to be repaired. If Mr. Robinson's house is cleared of the Southern invalids, order down as many of yours as can be accommodated there or at such other places near you as Col Mahon shall advise, and whenever the weather shall permit the rest of your Brigade except those of them who are fit subjects of the Hospital.

"Examine and determine in your own mind the properest place to Hutt such as you will be obliged to cover by them.

"Your baggage must all be sent down by water.

"I am Sir your humble Servant

"MCDOUGALL

"To Gen. JOHN PATERSON from

"Maj Gen. MCDOUGALL including one to Col. MALCON."

"HEAD QUARTERS, PEEK'S-KILL, Dec. 7th, 1778

"SIR,

"Accept my thanks for the laudable example you have shown to your Brigade since you marched from Fish Kills; and please to present them to the Brigade for their alertness and alacrity on the march, and their soldierly patience in the Field at this inclement season. I wish you not to take the Command for a few days. When I shall have the pleasure of seeing you I will fully and satisfactorily explain to you the reasons which induce me to this. In the meantime make yourself acquainted with the Post. Inclosed you have a copy of mine to Col. Malcom; Peruse it. If the answers are fully given, it will open to your mind the state of the Post, and other matters of moment for you to be informed of.

"When you estimate what number of officers and men of yours can be taken into Houses, Barracks, Huts and the Carolina tents, please to order down a sufficient number of the best of your Marquees and Tents to cover the others, and return the surplus into the Q. M. General's store at Fishkill to be repaired. If Robinson's House is cleared of the Southern invalids, order down as many of yours as can be

1778 accommodated there or at such other places near you as Col. Malcom shall advise ; and whenever the weather will permit, the rest of your Brigade except those of them who are fit subjects of the Hospital. Your baggage must all be sent down by water.

"I am, Sir, Your Humble Servant,

"McDOUGALL*"

"B. Genl. PATERSON" †

To this letter General Paterson replied :

"WEST POINT, Decr 8th, 1778.

"SIR :

"I received your Favours of the 7th & 8th—Am perfectly satisfied with your disposition for the Winter but am very sorry to find a spirit in the garrison to dispute so reasonable an arrangement. It gives dissatisfaction to the officers of my Brigade that they should dispute General orders when it does not perfectly answer their expectation. They think it is done thro' the Influence of some individuals out of prejudice to them. I should be very happy to get some Cover for them as soon as can be ; they have, I am sure, in the Course of the service, suffered as much or more than any Brigade in the army with Patience.

"We have been viewing the Woods. Our officers are of the opinion that we Cannot Hutt within three miles of the Garrison, but I think we can build some on the ground we viewed the other day.

"I have sent for my baggage—expect it down the next Tide—had sent before I received your directions but shall return what is unnecessary immediately. You will please to accept my most sincere acknowledgments for the favourable opinion you have entertained of my Brigade. I hope our Conduct may be such as to justify it.

"I am, Sir, with esteem

"Your most Ob'dient

"humble servant

"On Public Service

"JNO PATERSON.

"Maj. Genl. McDOUGALL

"at Peekskill.

"[P. S.] The Carolina Troops will move in the morning, at which time I shall take care to see your orders put in execution.

"J. PATERSON." ‡

* These letters were written in duplicate, but as they are not identical, both the original and the copy are given. The original and the copy are in a different handwriting.

† New York Historical Society.

‡ New York Historical Society.

" WEST POINT, Dec 9th 1778. 1778

" SIR.

" I rec'd your favors of the 7th & 8th and am perfectly satisfied with our disposition for the Winter, but am sorry to find a spirit in the Garrison to dispute so reasonable an arrangement. It gives dissatisfaction to the officers of my Brigade that they should dispute General orders when it does not perfectly answer their expectations. They think it is done through the influence of some individuals out of prejudice to them.

" I should be very happy to get some cover for them as soon as can be, they have I am sure in the course of the service, suffered as much, or more than any Brigade in the Army, with patience.

" We have been viewing the woods and our officers are of opinion that we cannot Hutt within three miles of the Garrison, but I think we can build some on the ground we viewed the other day.

" I have sent for my baggage and expect it down the next tide—had sent it before I rec'd your direction. You will please to accept of my most sincere acknowledgements for the favorable opinion you have entertained of my Brigade. I hope our conduct may be such as to justify it.

" I am Sir with esteem your most o'b't humble servant

" JNO PATERSON.

" Maj Gen. McDUGALL.

" The Carolina troops will move in the morning at which time I shall take care to see your orders put in execution.

" J. PATERSON.

" On public service
" Maj Gen. McDUGALL } endorsed
" at Peekskill. "

On December 18, 1778, General McDougall, being temporarily at West Point, issued the following order:

" His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, having been pleased to order me (General McDougall) to take charge of all the posts on the Hudson River from Poughkeepsie downward, and signified that it was determined in a council of general officers that Brigadier-General Paterson should take command of the post at West Point; he will please in pursuance of that order to take the command to-morrow morning after guard mounting."

His brigade had been ordered to "the Point" about ten days before. He thus assumed command at West Point as

1778 the choice not only of the Commander-in-Chief, but of all the generals who were in the district, and who were then wintering at Middlebrook, New Jersey. West Point had become the most important post, from a strategic point of view, in the north. So long as the Americans held it the New England States were comparatively safe, and no very important move could be made by the British, since it was the key to New York, which the Americans would attack just as soon as they left it exposed. General Paterson was selected for this position because he was known to be a man of good judgment, perfectly safe, and not likely to be led by appearances to make a false step.

The Massachusetts troops were in the Highlands except the 4th brigade, which had been sent to Rhode Island. Two of these brigades were ordered to encamp on the east side of the river, and General Paterson's brigade was stationed for the winter at West Point.

The "Light Company" of the 8th Massachusetts regiment was one of the best companies in the army; the 10th Massachusetts, the 2d Connecticut brigade, and the 1st and 2d Massachusetts brigades were also considered among the best. General Paterson's brigade consisted of the 2d, 5th, and 8th regiments. It therefore included the famous "Light Company."

On December 21st General McDougall wrote to General Paterson:

"H. Q. PEEKSKILL

"Dec. 21st 1778

"MY DEAR SIR: I fear business will prevent my seeing you tomorrow as intended.

"In the mean time push the covering of troops by finishing half the new Barracks with all possible vigor and expedite the cutting of more timber for the works agreeable to the arrangements of Col Mahon till we have time to adopt another if we shall find it necessary.

"Advise me where the Chain & Boom are secured.

"The sick of Col Poor's send to Fishkill the invalids and heavy baggage to be put in one Hutt if it will contain them.

"The Regiment will embark with all possible despatch when tide & weather will permit. Your companies with the Major to Haverstraw, there to take the orders of Major Pawling. The other with the Col. to land and be in Houses on the East side as near by Ferry as they can be accommodated. He will receive further orders. 1778

"They will draw one weeks provision Biscuit instead of bread. Their pouches will be full of ammunition.

"Such of the men as are good are men to be left under direction of Col Kosciusko until further orders (that is if they are house or ship carpenters).

"They will take with them a sufficient quantity of intrenching tools of all kinds to employ the party that goes down the axes to be ground and in good order.

"The Q. Master will give his receipt to return them whether broken or whole, or the deficiency to be stopt out of the men's pay.

"Neither officers or men will carry any baggage with them but what they can carry on their backs. The commissary will issue them a gill of Spirits of any kind if he has it before they embark.

"You may assure Col. Poor that when the small works about the ferry are completed, unless the enemy appears or some extraordinary thing turns up, they shall have liberty to return home with his hearty thanks for their good services.

"When the old boards arrive from Wappings Creek you will please to send them with all despatch to the village landing at the paper mill unless the margins of the river should be covered with ice or the enemy should be at King's ferry.

"In either of these cases you will please to advise me when they arrive at your port.

"I have rec'd your favor this day.

"Please to send the two cannon which are now ready. The others remain until you hear from me."

General McDougall again wrote to General Paterson, December 24, 1778, directing him to send parties down to the "lines," "Sing Sing dock," the "church," Bedford, North-castle, and that region generally; the troops to be from Colonel Larned's regiment.

" HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL

" Dec. 24th 1778

"Major Thompson of Nixon's Brigade is on command at Bedford with a party of Learnards. He has written orders for his government. You will please to order one of the most prudent and active field officers of yours under the degree of Col-in-chief to relieve of the Major—If

1778 he has no Horse with him, let him take one, a Saddle and Bridle, from any of the disaffected in that neighborhood and give receipt for them to be returned when he is relieved. He will then give a certificate of the time he shall have had the horse &c, and that it was by my orders.

"He will take a box of spare ammunition with him suitable to the French army, but he is not to deliver any of it to the militia unless the enemy come out. I wish to know his name.

"Let the party of sixty ordered to march embark as soon as the weather will permit and land at or about Sing-Sing dock. From thence march across the country to the main road of North Castle and take such position there for covering the country as Major Lyon there of the militia shall advise. When he gets posted he will advise the officer commanding at Bedford of his position in order that small Patrols may be kept between them. He will do the like when a party is posted west of him at Sing-Sing church. That the party be not delayed or suffer from the weather on the water, send a good row boat with the first ebb to reconnoitre the state of the ice at and near Sing-Sing dock. The party may land anywhere South of Croton river, if it should be found practicable.

"When this party is sent off prepare and send one of the same strength and quality and furnished as that, to take post in the lanes and positions at or near Sing-Sing church. If it is impracticable to land at King's Ferry Col. Poor's regiment will march by land on the East Side to their intended destination.

"I am very anxious these parties intended for the lines should move with all possible despatch consistent with their safety as the late fall of snow will favor Tories sending provisions to our cruel enemies

"I am Sir y'r humble Servant

"Col. Tupper can instruct the reconnoitring party to be sent in the boat when you want if necessary. If any cannot be hired they must be impressed.

"To Brig. Gen. PATERSON from Maj. Gen. McDOUGALL, Peekskill."

On December 29th General Paterson wrote to General McDougall :

"FORT ARNOLD, Decr, 29, 1778

"SIR,

"I send you enclosed a Letter from Mr. Belknap respecting some Provisions the Commissary had an order for, to supply this Garrison for the Winter, and Rum. I did not think myself authorized to act in the affair—should be very glad of your orders. The Commissary has informed me that he imagines large quantities of salt Provisions on hand will be condemned. The Pork delivered yesterday was very bad some of which was condemned by a committee appointed

for that purpose. We are preparing a machine to hoist the chain and expect to be at work on it to-morrow. I have this day sent McGuire with a Party to try the ice to N. Windsor and stake a road if its possible to pass with teams—hope to be able to Forage down immediately. I received your orders of yesterday which are this Day published here. 1779

"I am, Sir, your very humble

"and ob'dt Servant

"JNO. PATERSON." *

The copy of this letter is given below.

"FORT ARNOLD Dec 29th 1778

"SIR.

"I have sent you the two masons which will be with you this night. I send you enclosed a letter from Mr Belknap respecting some Provision the Commissary had an order for to supply this Garrison for the winter, and also Rum. I did not think myself authorized to act in the affair, should be very glad of your orders. The Commissary has informed me that he imagines large quantities of the salt provision on hand will be condemned. The Pork delivered yesterday was very bad, some of which was condemned by a committee appointed for that purpose.

"We are preparing a Machine to hoist the chain and expect to be at work on it tomorrow. I have this day sent Mr McGuire with a party to try the Ice to N. Windsor and stake a road if possible to pass with Trains. Hope to be able to get Forage down immediately I rec'd your orders of yesterday which are this day published here.

"I am Sir your humble & ob't servant

"JNO PATERSON."

On Friday, January 2, 1779, Sewal records in his Diary—

"Mustered Patersons Brigade & Captain Wells Co of Artillery for December 1778."

And on Saturday, January 3d, he records :

"Examined, abstracted and returned the Rolls of Paterson's Brigade. Somewhat dangerous crossing the ice." †

General Paterson writes again to General McDougall :

"FORT ARNOLD, 5th Jany, 1779.

"SIR.

"I Rec'd yours by the mason—imagine you must have had mine before this will arrive. The flints were sent the day I received your letter—the Crows I wrote particularly about, but am in hopes I shall find more as they have been left standing about in the Garrison.—have

* New York Historical Society.

† Sewal's Diary, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1779 ordered the Qr Master to make search, wherever they have been used, for them. The River has been so broken up that I durst not Send over your side; it still continues so or I should have wrote before—An unfortunate accident happened here the night before last—we had ordered the seamen to lye on board the vessels to be ready if anything should happen in the night, being apprehensive the River would break up the chain before morning. Two of them being drunk got a quarreling—in the fray one of them fell overboard and was drowned. I immediately ordered the delinquent under guard, since which he has been tried, the result of which I send you enclosed. I thought this my Duty it being of so criminal a nature. I believe the Parties had an enmity to each other, being dear Paddys possest of the highest sense of military Honor.

"The repacking of the Salt Provisions is at present attended with difficulties, being frozen so hard that we Cannot take it out of the Barrels, but I think it requires very particular attention being very bad in general and I am afraid we shall notwithstanding our utmost care and attention lose a great part of it. All the Barrels that I can see have been bored through (I suppose to make the carriage lighter) which has drained the Brine from it and made it extremely rank and musty. I would wish we had some person who is acquainted with that Business to oversee it. Mr Elderkin says he Rec'd the whole of it from the Commissary at King's Ferry.

"We continue working at the chain and take up about seventy or eighty links a day but it is a heavy piece of Business—in Time we shall Conquer. The vessels that were fast to the Chain are all safe—the two largest are cutt in quite to the shore—the armed sloop lies in the Bay, not so well secured as I could wish. Col. Kosciusko is doing the best he can to her, but what it is I don't know.

"I am, Sir, with Respect, Your

"humble Servant,

"JNO. PATERSON.

"Hon. Maj. Gen. McDOUGALL." *

The copy of this letter is given below.

"FORT ARNOLD. Jan 5th 1779.

"SIR.

"I rec'd yours by the Mason and imagine you must have had mine before this will arrive. The Flints were sent the day I rec'd your letter. The crows I wrote particularly about, but am in hopes I shall find more as they have been left scattering about in the Garrison, have ordered the Qt. Master to make search wherever they have been used, for them.

* New York Historical Society.

"The River has been so broken up that I durst not send over your 1779 Side. It still continues so or I should have wrote before.

"An unfortunate accident happened here the night before last. We had ordered the Seamen to lye on board the vessels to be ready if anything should happen in the night, being apprehensive the River would brake up to the chain before morning. Two of them being drunk got a quarreling & in the fray one of them fell overboard and was drowned. I immediately ordered the delinquent under Guard, since which he has been tried the result of which I send you enclosed. I thought this my duty it being of so criminal a nature. I believe the Parties had an enmity to each other being dear Paddy's posest of the highest sense of military honor.

"The repairing of the Salt provisions is at present attended with difficulties being frozen so hard that we cannot take it out of the barrels, but I think it requires very particular attention being very bad in general and I am afraid we shall notwithstanding our utmost care and attention lose a great part of it. All the barrels that I can see have been bored through (I suppose to make the carriage lighter) which has drained the Brine from it and made it extremely rank and musty. I could wish we had some person who is acquainted with that Business to oversee it. Mr Elderkin says he rec'd the whole of it from the Commissary at King's Ferry.

"We continue working at the Chain and take up about 70 or 80 links a day but it is a heavy piece of business. In time we shall conquer. The vessels that were fast to the chain are all safe. The two largest are cut in quite to the shore. The armed sloop lies in the Bay, not so well secured as I could wish. Col. Kosciusko is doing the best he can to her, but what it is, I dont know.

"I am Sir with respect your humble servant

"JNO PATERSON.

"Hon. Maj. Gen. McDUGALL."

On January 6 General Paterson wrote to General McDougall:

"FORT ARNOLD, Jan 6th 1779

"SIR.

"I have this moment rec'd your commands. Am surprised that Capt. Redding should have marched without Flints. It must be through forgetfulness, he has always behaved well, both in action and out, since I have known him.

"The Party will march early in the morning provided agreeable to your directions. The Capt. will wait on you this evening for your orders.

"I have sent to each of those parties since they marched, shoes

1779 sufficient for the whole. They have arrived before this time. We go on briskly this day getting up the chain.

"I am your most devoted humble servant

"JNO PATERSON.

"Maj. Gen. McDougall."

The history of the chain to which General Paterson refers is given below. The history of the other chain, at Fort Montgomery, has already been given. This chain at West Point was by far the most important obstruction to the navigation of the Hudson River. It was placed in position by mechanics and engineers in General Parson's command. It appears, from General Paterson's letters, that the chain had been broken by the ice. It required the greatest effort and skill on his part to recover and repair it. The position of the chain is shown on map No. 13, page 175.

Immediately after the return of Sir Henry Clinton's expedition to New York, after the capture of Fort Montgomery in the fall of 1777, the obstructions in the Hudson River south of West Point having failed entirely of their purpose, attention was directed to West Point itself, which presented some very peculiar advantages for fortification. As the points on the Hudson River to be defended were at West Point or north of it, it was looked upon as one of the most important positions to be defended. The river at this point is only about 1400 feet wide, much narrower than anywhere else. It forms a bend almost at right angles, so as to give the appearance, when entering upon it, of a land-locked lake. The banks on both sides of it are high, admitting of the construction of batteries which can readily defend the river, and can easily themselves be defended from points on the hills at a higher elevation; in addition to which the wind, owing to the crookedness of the river, is very uncertain, so that any vessel coming up the river with a fair wind must lose a large part of her headway as she turns the point. The speed of the vessel being thus much reduced, the force of the blow against the obstruction would be much less likely to injure it, and

even if the wind were fair and the vessel should regain her headway, she would be under a heavy fire of shot and shell before she reached the obstruction, for which reason it would be necessary to have a much less formidable obstruction at that point. West Point itself, with the conditions then existing, was less likely to be taken by land approaches, on account of the hilly nature of the country, and because it was such a short distance from the center of supplies. All of these conditions prevailed during the whole of the Revolution, and, however much the navigation of the river was impeded north or south of it, West Point never was taken, although the British forces held New York, and though every effort was made both to gain and hold the navigation of the river, which they strove so earnestly for and in which they were always defeated. 1778

The chain across the Hudson River at West Point was placed there in the spring of 1778. The necessities of the case made General Washington urge upon the officers in command at West Point a more thorough fortification of this place. In a letter dated December 2, 1777, he instructed General Putnam to consult with Governor Clinton and General Parsons and the French engineer, Radière, with the view of rendering West Point impregnable against any attacks of the enemy, and thus prevent communication between the British in New York and those in Canada and also the cutting of the colonies in two, which had been considered so desirable by the English. The letter of General Washington is given below :

“ HEAD QUARTERS, 2 December, 1777.

“ DEAR SIR :

“ The importance of the Hudson River in the present contest, and the necessity of defending it, are subjects which have been so frequently and fully discussed, and are so well understood, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them. These facts at once appear, when it is considered that it runs through a whole state ; that it is the only passage by which the enemy from New York, or any part of our coast, can ever hope to co-operate with an army from Canada ; that the possession of it is indispensably essential to preserve the com-

1778 munication between the eastern, middle and southern states ; and further, that upon its security, in a great measure, depend our chief supplies of flour for the subsistence of such forces, as we may have occasion for, in the course of the war, either in the Eastern or Northern Departments, or in the country lying high up on the west side of it. These facts are familiar to all ; they are familiar to you. I therefore request you, in the most urgent terms, to turn your most serious and active attention to this infinitely important object. Seize the present opportunity, and employ your whole force and all the means in your power for erecting and completing, as far as it shall be possible, such works and obstructions as may be necessary to defend and secure the river against any future attempts of the enemy. You will consult Governor Clinton, General Parsons, and the French Engineer, Colonel Radière, upon the occasion. By gaining the passage, you know, the enemy have already laid waste and destroyed all the houses, mills and towns accessible to them. Unless proper measures are taken to prevent them, they will renew their ravages in the spring, or as soon as the season will admit, and perhaps Albany, the only town in the state of any importance remaining in our hands, may undergo a like fate, and a general havoc and devastation take place.

“ To prevent these evils, therefore, I shall expect that you will exert every nerve, and employ your whole force in future, while and whenever it is practicable, in constructing and forwarding the proper works and means of defence. The troops must not be kept out on command, and acting in detachments to cover the country below, which is a consideration infinitely less important and interesting.

“ I am, Dear Sir, &c.

“ G. WASHINGTON ”

In a letter to Governor Clinton, of the same date, Washington showed the anxiety that he felt in regard to this subject. Governor Clinton, in his reply, urged the construction of a strong fortress at West Point, opposite Fort Constitution, which was probably the first suggestion from any official source of the fortification of that point, though a plan of doing so had been discussed at the time of the construction of Forts Montgomery and Clinton.

At the same time Washington wrote to Major-General Gates, directing him, “ with a certain part of the Northern Army and the assistance of the Militia of New York and the Eastern States, to attempt the recovery of the posts upon the North River from the enemy, and to put them, if recovered, in the best posture of defence.”

General Gates, however, was about that time appointed ¹⁷⁷⁸ President of the Board of War, and did not act. Washington also addressed a letter to Governor Clinton, requesting him "to take the chief direction and superintendence of this business." Governor Clinton replied that he was so occupied that he could not accept the appointment, but would gladly coöperate with others in the matter.

The obstruction of the Hudson River at this point, therefore, remained under the direction of General Putnam, who, early in January, 1778, brought the matter before the Provincial Convention of New York, which, on Thursday, January 8, 1778, passed the following resolution :

" Application being made by Major General Putnam, Commanding Officer of the Middle Department, that this Convention would appoint a Committee to confer with him relative to the necessary works to be constructed for the defences of the passes in the Highlands :

" *Resolved*, That the General's request be complied with, and that Mr. Scott, Mr. Pawling, Mr. Wisner, Mr. Kilian Van Rensselaer, Mr. Drake, Mr. Hathorn, and Mr. Hoffman, be a Committee for that purpose."

Further action followed the next day :

" Friday, Jan. 9, 1778.

" General Scott, from the Committee appointed yesterday evening to confer with Gen. Putnam and Gen. James Clinton, the Lieutenant Colonel of Engineers, and other military officers, relative to the necessary works to be constructed for the passes in the Highlands, and the place or places where the same ought to be erected, reported that they had conferred with the said Generals and other officers ; that on such conference there was a disagreement in sentiment between those gentlemen (arising from certain different facts alleged) as to the place where such works ought to be erected ; and therefore that it was the opinion of the said Committee and the military gentlemen, that this Convention appoint Commissioners to view the several passes on Hudson River, with the Generals and other officers, and advise in fixing the places where such fortifications should be erected.

" *Resolved*, That John Sloss Hobart, Esq., one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, the Hon. Robt. R. Livingston, Chancellor of this State, Mr. Platt, Mr. Wisner, and Colonel Hathorn, be, and hereby are, appointed Commissioners for the purpose above mentioned, and proceed on that business with all possible despatch."

1778 This committee reported as follows :

“ WEDNESDAY, Jan. 14, 1778.

“ Your Committee, who were sent to ascertain the place for fixing a chain and erecting fortifications for obstructing the navigation of Hudson's River, beg leave to report : That they have carefully viewed the ground on which Fort Clinton lately stood and its environs, and find that the ground is so intersected with long deep hollows, that the enemy might approach without any annoyance from the garrison within the Fort to within a few yards of the walls, unless a redoubt should be raised to clear the hollows next the Fort, which must not be built at such distance from the Fort that it could not be supported from thence in case of an attack, so that the enemy might make themselves masters of the redoubt the first dark night after their landing, which would be a good work, ready to their hand, for annoying the Fort and facilitating their operations against it ; and, together with the eminences and broken grounds within a short distance of the Fort, would render it impossible for the garrison to resist a general assault for many hours together. Another objection that appeared to the Committee was the want of earth on the spot, which would reduce the engineer to the necessity of erecting his works entirely of timber, which must be brought to Pooploop's Kill in rafts, and from thence drawn up a steep and difficult road to the top of the hill. The rafts cannot be made till the water is warm enough for men to work in it, by which it is probable that a fort cannot be erected before the ships of the enemy will come up the River. Beside, at this place, the chain must be laid across the river so that it will receive the whole force of the ships coming with all the strength of tide and wind, on a line of three or four miles. Add to these, if the enemy should be able to possess themselves of the passes in the mountains through which they marched to the attacks of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the militia of the country to raise the siege.

“ Upon viewing the country at and about West Point, the Committee found that there were several places at which the enemy might land and proceed immediately to some high grounds that would command a fort erected at West Point at the distance of six or seven hundred yards, from which they might carry on their approaches through a light gravelly soil, so that it would be impossible for the fort to stand a long siege. But to balance this disadvantage in this place, there is plenty of earth. The timber may be brought to the spot by good roads from the high grounds at the distance of one to three miles. Three hundred feet less of chain will be requisite at this place than at Fort Clinton. It will be laid across in a place where vessels going up the river most usually lose their headway. Water batteries may be

built on both sides of the river for protecting the chain and annoying the ships coming up the river, which will be completely commanded from the walls of the fort. There are so many passes across the mountains to this place, that it will be almost impossible for the enemy to prevent the militia from coming to the relief of the garrison. 1778

"From these considerations, the Committee are led to conclude that the most proper place to obstruct the navigation of the river is at West Point; but are at the same time fully convinced that no obstructions on the banks of the river can effectually secure the country, unless a body of light troops, to consist of at least two thousand effective men, be constantly stationed in the mountains, while the navigation of the river is practicable, to obstruct the enemy in their approach by land.

"JOHN SLOSS HOBART,

"HENRY WISNER,

"JOHN HATHORN,

"ZEPH PLATT.

"POUGHKEEPSIE, Jan. 14th, 1778."

By direction of General Putnam, Hugh Hughes, D.Q.M.G., visited the Sterling Iron Works of Noble, Townsend & Co. on the 2d of February, and entered into a contract with the proprietors to construct a chain. This contract was as follows:

"Articles of Agreement between Noble, Townsend & Company, Proprietors of the Sterling Iron Works, in the State of New York, of the one part, and Hugh Hughes, D.Q.M.G. to the Army of the United States, of the other part, witnesseth:

"That the said Noble, Townsend & Company, jointly and severally engage to have made and ready to be delivered at their works to the said Hugh Hughes, D.Q.M.G., or to the D.Q.M.G. of the Middle Department for the time being, on or before the first day of April next ensuing the date hereof, or as much sooner as circumstances will admit, an iron chain of the following dimensions and quality, that is, in length five hundred yards, each link about two feet long, to be made of the best sterling iron, two inches and one quarter square, or as near thereto as possible, with a swivel to every hundred feet, and a clevis to every thousand feet, in the same manner as those of the former chain.

"The said Noble, Townsend & Company also engage to have made and ready to be delivered at least twelve tons of anchors of the aforesaid iron, and of such sizes as the said Hugh Hughes or his successors in office shall direct in writing, as soon as the completion of the chain will admit.

"In consideration of which, the said Hugh Hughes, in behalf of the United States, agrees to pay to the said Noble, Townsend & Company, or their order, at the rate of four-hundred and forty pounds for every ton weight of chain and anchors delivered as before mentioned, unless

1778 the general regulations on trade, provisions, &c., which are now supposed to be framed by deputies from the United States, shall be published and take effect before the expiration of four months from the date of this ; in which case the price is to be only four hundred pounds per ton for the said chain and anchors. The payment, if demanded, to be made in such proportion as the work shall be ready to be delivered, which shall be determined in ten days after requisition made by a number of competent judges, not less than three nor more than five, unconcerned with the proprietors, or the works, and if condemned, to be completed at the expense of the said Company, who are also to repair, as aforesaid, all failures of their work, whenever happening, whether at the works or river, or in extending it across.

"The said Hugh Hughes also engages to procure for the Governor of this State, for the said Noble, Townsend & Company, an exemption for nine months from the date hereof from military duty for fifty artificers that are steadily employed at the said chain and anchors till completed. Agreeable to the said exemption, the said Company complying with the terms thereof ; providing also that the said Company give the said Hugh Hughes, or his successors in office, the refusal by letter of all the bar iron, anchors, &c., made at the said works in the said term of nine months, at the current price, unless what is necessary to exchange for clothing and other articles for the use of the works.

"It is also agreed by the said parties that if the teams of the said Company shall transport the said chain or anchors, or any part thereof, to any assigned post, they shall receive for such services the same pay as shall be given by the United States for the like ; the teams of the Company being exempted from impress by any of the Q.M.G's deputies during the space of nine months.

"Lastly, the said Company engage to use their utmost endeavors to keep seven fires at forging and ten at welding, if assisted with such hands as are necessary and can be spared from the Army, in case of their not being able to procure others, the said Company making deduction for their labor.

"In Witness whereof, the parties have interchangeably subscribed their names this second day of February, one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the second year of American Independence.

" PETER TOWNSEND,

" In behalf of Noble & Company.

" HUGH HUGHES,

" In behalf of United States.

" In presence of

" P. TILLINGHAST."

On the 13th of February, General Putnam wrote to the Commander-in-Chief as follows :

" At my request, the Legislature of this State have appointed a Com-

mittee to affix the places and manner of securing the River, and to afford some assistance in expediting the work. The state of affairs now at this post, you will observe is as follows: The Chain and necessary anchor are contracted for, to be completed by the first of April; and from the intelligence I have received, I have reason to believe they will be completed by that time. Parts of the boom intended to have been used at Fort Montgomery, sufficient for this place, are remaining. Some of the iron is exceedingly bad. This I hope to have replaced with good iron soon. The *Chevaux-de-Frise* will be completed by the time the River will admit of sinking them (Pollopel's Island). The batteries near the water and the fort to cover them are laid out. The latter is within the walls, six hundred yards around, twenty-one feet base, fourteen feet high, the *Talus* two inches to the foot. This I fear is too large to be completed by the time expected. Governor Clinton and the Committee have agreed to this plan, and nothing on my part shall be wanted to complete it in the best and most expeditious manner. Barracks and huts for about three hundred men are completed, and barracks for about the same number are nearly covered. A road to the river has been made with great difficulty." 1778

Having given these general orders, General Putnam went to Connecticut, leaving General Parsons in command, and, having no explicit authority, General Parsons only supervised the works, and very little progress was made. The people of the province, considering that the work was really under General Putnam, became very angry at his delay, and refused to render the necessary assistance while he was nominally in command. Putnam was very much censured by the residents in the vicinity of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, and especially by those engaged in their defense, for his failure to prevent the attack of Sir Henry Clinton on those forts, as they claimed he might just as well have defeated him if he had been on the alert. On this account, on the recommendation of General Washington, Congress on the 31st of March ordered that all the troops in the State of New York should be under one general officer, who should be authorized to concentrate the whole force in the Highlands until such time as the fortifications and obstructions there were out of danger. Public opinion became so strong against Putnam that Washington appointed General McDougall to

1778 the command in the Highlands. Radière, the French engineer, finding that there was no really responsible person in command, went to Congress and resigned his appointment. He was succeeded by Kosciusko, who came to the works on the 26th of March. General McDougall arrived on the 28th, and took command, and the operation of laying the chain commenced at once. Kosciusko was very vigorous in carrying on the work, and succeeded in gaining the confidence of the officers as well as those who were under him. The operations were now pushed with great vigor. Governor Clinton, as he had promised to "render any assistance in his power," had supervised the work of the obstructions to the navigation of the river, and had directed Captain Machin, who had been in charge of the obstruction at Pollopel's Island, to take charge of the obstruction at West Point.

The obstruction at West Point consisted of a boom and a chain. The boom was made of logs twelve inches in diameter and fifteen feet in length, left round at the ends and dressed in the center to an octagonal shape. Around the end of each log was a band of iron, to which two links of a chain, made of two-inch bar iron, were attached. These bands were securely fastened to the log. The boom made in this way, with logs at short distances apart, stretched across the whole width of the river. It was very strong and was placed in front of the chain to protect it against the first blow of a vessel. The chain was made according to contract.

When the boom was in position, several persons walked over it from shore to shore, and it was even thought that it might be used to serve the purpose of a bridge for the transportation of troops in case there was any necessity for it. Its construction was such that it might easily have been converted into a bridge, had that been necessary.

The weight of the iron in the boom is specified in the bill of Noble, Townsend & as Co. 135 tons of wrought iron, made into booms, bolts, clips, chain, swivels, and bands, all of which were found upon the material raised from the river. It was commenced with the intention of using it at Fort Mont-

gomery and as a substitute for the rafts of timber which were used there. Its application there was made useless by the surrender of that fort. 1778

The chain was made up at New Windsor and floated down to West Point, there to be made ready to be placed in position. It was held up by very large logs, about fifteen feet long, pointed at the ends to lessen the strain made on them by the force of the current at high and low tide. These had been floated down the river and bolted to it. Each link was 2 feet long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches square and 12 inches wide, and weighed from 130 to 150 pounds. The whole chain weighed 180 tons and was 1500 feet long. The logs were spaced at short distances from each other and the chain placed on top of them and fastened to each log by staples. To avoid the great pressure of the ice against it, the boom was loosened in the winter, and the obstruction piled on the shore.

The boom of chain logs, as it was called, left New Windsor on April 7th. The chain, ready for being put into place, was sent down on April 16th, and was stretched across the river on the 30th, when the boom and chain were placed across the river. The obstruction served to render still safer the strong fortification at West Point, where Washington had all his powder stored, and which could fall into the hands of the enemy only through the treachery of a traitor.

In order to give greater stability to the chain, a number of anchors were dropped at given distances and made fast to it by means of cables. The chain was finished within less than six weeks after it was ordered. It was made in a little stone building, whose ruins may yet be seen, called Augusta Forge. The iron was brought as ore from a mine four miles west, smelted in a bloomery forge, and the links hammered out by hand. The neighboring farmers carted the links as they were made to the army engineers at New Windsor, who superintended the joining and placing together of the chain. It was fastened to great blocks of stone on each side of the river. It took a detail of 250 men to place it in position.

1778 After the war about thirty-five tons of the chain was sold to the West Point foundry at Cold Spring, where it was worked up. Sixteen links of the chain have been preserved at West Point, including a swivel and a clavis. Two of the largest links weigh 130 and 129 pounds. Two of the smallest weigh 109 and 98 pounds. The mean weight of the links is 114 pounds. A portion of the chain became detached, and as the logs which supported it, having been in the water for many years, were water-soaked, it sank to the bottom of the river. Some of this was afterwards recovered and is now on sale in New York. It is offered for sale at the rate of five cents per pound, a price which has prevented, and will probably prevent, its acquisition by any one who would be likely to preserve it. Mr. A. S. Hewitt preserved, with great care and pride, three links of it at his country place at Ringwood. These links were sent to the Centennial Exhibition in 1876. There they disappeared, and he has never been able to recover them.

In making the final removal of the obstruction, a portion of it became detached and sank to the bottom of the river. After it had lain there about seventy-five years it was removed in the summer of 1855, and part of it deposited in Washington's headquarters at Newburgh.

This was the second chain used for the obstruction of the Hudson River, the first being the one that was used at Forts Montgomery and Clinton farther below.

It is said that part of the plan of Arnold's treason was that he should weaken the force of the chain by taking a link out of it, under the pretense that it needed repair, so diminishing its strength that it should cease to be an obstruction, and keeping the link in the repair shop until the English could easily get possession of West Point. This could hardly have been done without letting down the chain when the link was removed, but a single bar could easily have been taken out from alternate sides of the boom, and so weaken it as to make it incapable of resisting the force of a vessel of any size brought against it.

Of the four attempts to obstruct the navigation of the Hudson River two were failures and one was never used. The last one, aided and defended by the forts, was successful. None of these would have resisted the shock of a war vessel of to-day, but, in order to fully understand and appreciate their importance, we must remember that those were the days when neither steam nor electricity were used, that for locomotion on water we were entirely dependent on sails, and that the obstructions, which would be of no use now, would have been and were entirely effective then. 1778

The Revolutionary War, until after the surrender of Burgoyne, was conducted on both sides with a view to either obtaining or regaining possession of the Hudson River. Long after the navigation was entirely lost to the British, its possession was so coveted that they felt themselves obliged to keep a large force in New York, with the hope that they might get possession of it by some false move of the Americans, while Washington was obliged to keep some of his best officers and troops there, always on the watch for its safety, so that the Highlands of the Hudson, on account of the necessary inactivity there, got, and for a long time retained, the name of "the hated Highlands" among officers and men. Never was it more true that "They also serve who only stand and wait" than it was here. Eternal vigilance was then, as now, the only chance of safety. From West Point reconnoissances in force were constantly made by the Americans both on the east side and the west side of the river, to ascertain what the movements of the enemy were, and to draw their attention away from the river by leading them to suppose that the army was about to move from West Point in another direction. They on their part made feints to produce the impression that they had abandoned all thought of movement in the direction of West Point, hoping to be able to take advantage of any relaxation of vigilance on the part of the Americans. We now hardly realize how much we owe to West Point and to the obstructions of the river which kept that important point permanently in our posses-

1778 sion. Not only was it our strong watch-tower and fortress during the Revolution, but after the Revolution was over, it was the place from which the Society of the Cincinnati was formed in 1782 and 1783, and which in after years became the seat of learning which furnished the country with the great engineers, both civil and military, who were so necessary to its growth. Until after the late civil war, West Point furnished nearly all the engineers who aided so much in the development of this country. Since then other institutions have become famous, but we owe no less a debt of gratitude to West Point. We can only repay the debt we owe to our ancestors for defending and providing for the future defense of our country, by trying to keep up in this and succeeding generations the high standard of virtue and patriotism which they maintained. The Revolution was not, as some of its enemys have maintained, the action of a mob. It was the deliberate movement of a people whose every action, in town, county, and colony debate, was regulated by the strictest laws of parliamentary procedure, and whose efforts to reach the wisest and best conclusions resulted in forming, as Gladstone says, "some of the best and wisest legislators and jurists that the world has ever seen, superior to those of any other epoch."

This year was one of constant watchfulness at West Point and elsewhere, but it was also one of great discouragement. Enlistments were slow. The soldiers and people were tired of the war. The people thought that the continued requisitions made on them for supplies made them only a prey to the commissioners, quartermasters, forage-masters, and various schemers and monopolists. The farmers thought it was of little importance to which party they belonged. The British seized what they had because they were "rebels," and the Americans because they were tories, neither taking much trouble to inquire what the facts were. In any event, loss was on their side. Each family had been allowed in the spring one bushel and a half of wheat until harvest;

whatever over and above that amount they had taken 1778 by the commissary. It is true it was paid for, but the payment was made either in Continental currency, which was very much depreciated, or commissary receipts, which were practically worthless. The forage-master took their hay, rye, buckwheat, and Indian corn, and gave an equivalent of no greater value than the commissary receipts. Forage became so scarce that messages had to be sent by footmen. The army, on the other hand, were poorly housed, many of them without shoes or stockings, and nearly all of them in rags. The reality was bad enough, but everything was exaggerated by the spies of the British, who predicted that by spring the army would be dissolved. They expected to see us melt away like the snow. They circulated most industriously in the South the report that the Americans were about to force all negroes into the army, and that only one thousand dollars in Continental currency was to be paid for each negro. Northern blacks were to fare no better. They reported the Americans dissatisfied with the French and about to break the unnatural alliance between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic power. They circulated the report that the Indians were about to rise *en masse* and massacre the Americans. They succeeded in convincing themselves, but the patriots, whatever their sufferings, remained, with but few exceptions, true to their cause, not only in the face of the enemy, but while cold and hunger and privations of every kind were to be endured daily.

The campaign of 1778 was brought to a close, on the part of the Americans, principally by want of money. Congress had no power to impose taxes. Each State had more than it could do to take care of its own indebtedness. The country was flooded with counterfeits of the Continental currency, manufactured in England. The real and the counterfeit were equally worthless. The seasons had, however, been favorable, and a rich harvest had been gathered. The country was prosperous. Congress, however, was blind and deaf; it re-

1779

fused either to see or to hear of the wants of the army. Washington's repeated requests for a standing army were unnoticed. Congress persisted in making annual drafts, which left only the nucleus on which to constantly reorganize the army. They would not hear even of long enlistments. General Washington describes the condition of both forces at the end of the year as follows: "After two years of maneuvering and the strangest vicissitudes, both armies are brought back to the very point from which they set out, and the offending party at the beginning is reduced to the use of the spade and pickax for defense. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude to acknowledge his obligations."

In every act of the British they had as yet depended on their fleets as the basis of their operations and lost their efficacy when they were separated from them. We had had no navy, but there had been some fine maneuvering on Lake Champlain. In the summer of 1778 Paul Jones made such a demonstration on the English coast as to win for his exploits great honor to himself and great confidence in the cause of the colonies, and every demonstration of regard for the man and sympathy for the cause he represented was made by the various countries of Europe.

The channel fleets of England and France had an indecisive engagement in July, which opened hostilities by sea. Spain, on two different occasions, offered to mediate between the two countries, but the English refused mediation; and finally, on April 12, 1779, Spain signed a treaty with France, and declared war against England in June. She then sent a fleet from Cadiz to join the French.

The commencement of the year 1779 found Congress again without money. It applied to the States for help, but the States did not respond. Finally Congress issued fifty millions more of Continental currency, and as much more at various times during the year. In June the Continental dol-

lar was worth only five cents, and at the end of the year, 1779 when there were two hundred millions in circulation, the dollar was worth only three cents. The country was bankrupt, and the seeds whose growth produced such serious results after the war was over, and which threatened to overturn all that had been gained by the long struggle of the Revolution, were already germinating.

From the Highlands, on January 19, 1779, General Paterson and his fellow-officers sent forward a petition in behalf of themselves and the soldiers under their command for provisions and clothing. Detachments from his brigade were occasionally ordered down to the outposts near White Plains, which were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Aaron Burr. On February 27th General McDougall ordered Burr: "If the enemy move or appear in force on the river, send up Paterson's detachments by forced marches. They will be needed at the Point." On March 23d General Paterson issued orders from Fishkill. On April 10th he and Major Haskell secured furloughs. He was back at his post on June 12th, and again took command, and was there in the fall and winter of 1779 and until April, 1780. Major Haskell was his brigade major during this campaign.

On June 4, 1779, General McDougall writes :

" Budd's, in the Highlands,
" opposite to West Point, 4 June, 1779.

" SIR,

" General Paterson not having returned from furlough, I appointed General Parsons to command at West Point, as he is well acquainted with the post."

On June 5th Colonel William Malcolm writes :

" On the road leading from
" Fort Montgomery towards the Furnace,
" 11 o'clock, A.M., 5 June, 1779.

" SIR,

" General Parsons took command of Fort Clinton, on the 3d instant, in the evening. The garrison consists of Learned's, Paterson's, and the Carolina brigade, about seventeen hundred strong." *

* Revolutionary letters to Washington.

1779 General Paterson, who had been away from the Point, returned to his post on the evening of June 11, 1779.

The following extracts are taken from Sewal's Diary :

"Sunday July 4. 1779. Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, 13 cannon were discharged about noon at this post. Attended Divine service in the forenoon at the new Barracks and at Genl. Paterson's brigade in the afternoon.

"Tuesday July 6. Mustered Paterson's and Larned's Brigades and the artillery. A shower prevented mustering the Carolinians. The thunder struck on the other side killed one and wounded a number more soldiers.

"Friday July 16. Paterson's and Nixon's brigades marched off from the Village. Previous to this our Light Infantry under the command of B. Gen. Wayne had taken the fort at Stony point and made prisoners the whole." *

On July 17th General Howe writes :

"PEEKSKILL, Saturday, 17 July, 1779.

"SIR,

"I joined the division at the Continental Village, the last evening, and arrived at this post at five this morning. I now only halt for the return of a reconnoitering party, sent out last night, and shall immediately proceed to execute your Excellency's orders. The field-pieces you suppose to have been taken on with the brigades, are not with them. General Nixon informs me that there are not any attached to his brigade ; those of General Paterson I think to send for." †

On July 19th General Heath writes :

"MANDEVILLE'S, 19 July, 1779.

"DEAR GENERAL :

"I was honored with your favor of yesterday, on my way from Bald Hill to this place. I had before ordered Parson's brigade to encamp near Robinson's ; Huntington's near the place where Parson's encamped before they left this place ; Paterson's between that place and Danforth's ; Nixon's, at the gorge of the mountains. Glover's is not yet arrived. May I be permitted to request that, when it does, it may be attached to General Howe's division ?"

Sewal in his Diary of July 20th says :

"By a general arrangement of the army, Genl. Paterson's brigade was ordered on to the point which together with Larned's and the North Carolina Brigades compose the garrison at West point under the command of Genl. McDougal commandant." *

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† Correspondence of the Revolution : Letters to Washington.

In July, 1779, the enemy invaded and burned a number of towns in Connecticut, including New Haven. In that month General Heath returned from Boston and took command in the Highlands. He despatched troops to Connecticut, and on the 19th of July writes that Paterson's brigade was posted at Nelson's Point, opposite West Point. A few days previously it had marched as far down as Peekskill and back again. On the night of the 15th of July, Stony Point was stormed by a picked American corps, and Washington expected a counter-move from the enemy. He arranged his army east and west of West Point, making it the center, with his headquarters there.

On the 19th the following order was issued :

“HEAD QUARTERS WEST POINT July 19th 1779

“Genl Washington's Orders—The Garrison at West Point comprehending the Island, will at present consist of Paterson's, North Carolina, and Late Learned's Brigades under Major Genl McDougal Commander of the Garrison.” *

In his orders on July 20th, Washington says: “The garrison at West Point, including the island” (that is, Constitution Island) “will for the present consist of Paterson's, Larned's, and the Carolina brigades, General McDougall commandant of the garrison.” It was the “Point” which was threatened, and it was therefore strengthened with a division under a major-general. Troops were detailed to work on the forts every day. General Paterson's men were engaged at the batteries at the “Point” and at Fort Putnam above it (see map No. 12).

On the 21st the following garrison order was issued :

“WEST POINT July 21st 1779

“Genl Paterson and Commander Bailey will cause the Water Casks to be examined and filled in the several enclosed works ; the Quarter Master of the Garrison will furnish them with all the Casks he can get from the Commissary.” *

On the 22d the following order was issued :

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1779

"HEAD QUARTERS July 22nd 1779.

"The following is the formation of Nixon's, Paterson's, Learned's, and N. Carolina Brigades, which is to take place immediately for the present campaign.— Paterson's Brigade to furnish for the Light Infantry." *

On the 23^d the following order was issued :

"HEAD QUARTERS WEST POINT, MOORS HOUSE. July 28th 1779

"A Board of General Officers to be composed of Maj. General's Heath and St. Clair, and Brig. Gen's Nixon, Persons, Smallwood, Knox and Paterson are to sit tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock at Genl Heath's Quarters to make a complete and final arrangement of the Officers in the Massachusetts Line. The Board will be pleased to fix the precise Rank and Station of every Field Officer, and also the precedence of the Captains.— It was omitted to be mentioned in the orders of yesterday that the Light Infantry of Nixon's and Learned's Brigades are to form one Battalion—that from Patersons and N. Carolina another." *

And on the 29th the following order :

"HEAD QUARTERS MOORS HOUSE. 29 July 1779

"The following is a Detail for Fatigue agreeable to yesterday's orders— to be divided into four Reliefs — Paterson 400, Relief 100, 75 at the Point, and 25 to attend the Mason's at Fort Putnam." *

Glover's brigade having returned from Rhode Island, all the Massachusetts troops were on the North River. During the summer the work on the uncompleted forts at the "Point" was pushed with great vigor, under General Kosciusko. In August General Paterson went down to Peekskill, but was at the "Point" on the 3^d.

On August 15th, Sewal in his Diary records that he dined with five other officers of Paterson's brigade at headquarters. "Heard his Excellency read accounts which he had received of an engagement between the British and French fleets in the West Indies, of whom the latter were the conquerors. Attended public worship with Paterson's and Larned's brigades in the evening."

General Paterson was brigadier of the day on August 3^d,

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

6th, 9th, 12th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, 31st; September 12th, 15th, 19th, 22d; October 24th; November 5th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 22d, 24th, 27th. 1779

On the 23d of June, 1779, Washington established his headquarters at New Windsor, on the Hudson, near Newburgh. The following day, American Union Lodge met at Nelson's Point, and proceeded from thence to West Point to celebrate the festival of St. John the Baptist. Being joined by a number of Masonic brethren from the brigades there and on Constitution Island, they proceeded from General Paterson's quarters, on the opposite side of the river, to the Robinson House, where they retired to a bower in front of the house and were joined by General Washington and his family. Here addresses were delivered by Rev. Dr. Hitchcock and Major William Hull (afterwards General Hull, of the war of 1812). Dinner, music, toasts, and songs closed the entertainment. Many distinguished officers of the army who were Masons were present at this festival; and the brethren in the Massachusetts line soon after petitioned the Massachusetts Grand Lodge for a warrant to hold a travelling lodge in their camp. The petition was granted on the 6th of October, 1779; a special dispensation was issued to pass and raise lodges in this State, or any other of the United States of America, where no other Grand Master presided. General John Paterson was made Master of this lodge and Colonel Benjamin Tupper and Major William Hull, Wardens. The lodge was called "Washington Lodge."

Washington, while commander-in-chief, often visited this lodge. This was a travelling lodge, and organized for the benefit of officers and soldiers of the army. Their celebrations of the festival of St. John the Baptist were famous.*

"On Friday Sept. 24th. The officers of General Paterson's Brigade met and chose the General and Colonel Tupper to represent them in the General Court of our State.

* "Washington and his Masonic Compeers," by Sidney Hayden, p. 52. Anderson & Co., N. Y.

1779 "Tuesday Sept. 28th. General Paterson and Colonel Tupper put off from Boston. Sent a letter by Colonel Tupper to be submitted to the case of Daniel Simpson of the General Court.

"Monday, Nov. 15th. The 7th Massachusetts Regiment late Alden's came on to the Point to join General Paterson's brigade. Our regiment received orders to join Nixon's brigade. *

On the 7th of October, 1779, finding it impossible to procure proper cloth for a uniform, General Paterson was obliged to ask that the Board of War might be allowed to sell him sufficient cloth to have one made, which was granted the next day :

"To the Honble. the Council and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay in General Court assembled :

"The petition of John Paterson humbly sheweth that no clothing at present is to be had in Camp ; that since he has been in Town he has made search and cannot find any that is suitable ; he therefore humbly requests this Honorable Court that they would permit the Board of War to supply him with a Suit, he paying them their demand, and which will be gratefully acknowledged by your Honors' most obedient and very humble servant,

"JNO PATERSON."

"BOSTON, October 7, 1779." †

In the House of Representatives, Boston, October 7, 1779 :

"Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to deliver to Brigadier General John Paterson cloth for a suit of clothes, he paying for the same." ‡

On November 27th Washington, in a letter to General Heath, ordered General Paterson's brigade to be again stationed at West Point. On November 29th the commanding officers of the corps met at five o'clock at General Paterson's quarters to draw lots for huts. General McDougall's last order was :

"GARRISON WEST POINT, December 6, 1779.

"General Heath having arrived yesterday at Mr. Mandaville's and the Commander-in-Chief having given permission to the commandant

* General Sewal's Diary.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccxxiv., p. 390.

‡ Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccxxiv., p. 392.

[McDougall] to retire when the event took place, the command, by desire of General Heath, devolves on General Paterson, which he will be pleased to assume after guard mounting." 1779

General Paterson was therefore in command during the winter of 1779-80.

How dangerous the condition of West Point was when he took command may be judged of by the following letter :

" WEST POINT 16th Dec. 1779.

" SIR.

" I have this moment received the enclosed from Colo Hay which I thought my Duty to send you. The State of the Garrison in my opinion is very precarious, if this Weather holds it is probable that communication from one side to the other may be cut off at least for some considerable Time—you may depend Sr that every assistance shall be given from this side to prosecute any plan you shall strike out for the Relief of the Troops. I am Sir

" with esteem your very

" humble Servant

" J. PATERSON.

" Honble Majr Genl HEATH." *

On the 23d he wrote to Major-General Heath as follows :

" WEST POINT, Decr —23d 79

" SIR.

" By the late Regulations the Brigade Majors have been relieved from immediately attending on their Brigadier, which obliges me to ask the favor of having Lt. Shaw of the 11th Regt. appointed in orders as Aid de Camp to me—the multiplicity of little affairs to attend to at this post oblige me to request it—

" I sent Mr Elderkin out in quest of Flour he has returned, but without the olive leaf, he cannot find that there is three hundred Barrels in the State we expected forty Barrels last evening, but they have not as yet arrived, I yesterday had a Bridge built across the Creek which surrounds Constitution Island that our Supplies which must come by land may be brought directly to me.

" We have everything to struggle with, the severe Season put a stop to building Chimnies for the present, our Nails fall short which prevents our Carpenters from covering the Barracks so early as was expected, the Men being in Tents on the plain causes a great consumption

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1780 of wood of which article we are entirely destitute. I have ordered a number of hand Sleighs to be built and distributed to the several Regiments so that each Regiment with them can provide their own fuel for themselves, officers included, but am still obliged to keep a large Fatigue to supply the Staff and those employed on the several different Works. We can have but little dependence on our Teams as our Forage grows very short indeed I think if they were all sent away except five or six it would be best in that case those left might be kept better and do more work than all do at present.

"I am your most

"obedient humble Servant

"JNO PATERSON.

"Honble Majr Genl HEATH." *

The following order complies with General Paterson's request for Lieutenant Shaw's appointment:

"HEAD QUARTERS ROBINSON'S FARM 23rd Dec. 1779

"Lieut. Shaw of the 11th Massachusetts Regiment is appointed Aid De Camp to Brigadier General Paterson, and is to be obeyed accordingly."

How well General Paterson remembered his soldiers is shown by the following letter:

"I certify that Edward Bates was sent by the orders of General McDougal out of my Brigade up the North River after Timber, for the Garrison of West Point, and on the return of the Officer, commanding the party, was reported as being unfit for Duty, on account of a wound received in course of the Tour, and in consequence of it was transferred to the Corps of invalids. . . . This was in the year 1779

"JOHN PATERSON B. Gen.

"BOSTON Feb 9th 1786." †

The year 1780 did not bring any relief to the country or to the army, which Congress continually neglected. The Americans, deprived of almost every comfort, sat watching the English in New York, who were quite content and very comfortable. The country was bankrupt. All sorts of paper money, real and counterfeit, the one worth about as much as the other, were in circulation. The false and the real were

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Owned by W. E. Benjamin, New York.

difficult to distinguish from each other, and circulated about 1780 on a par. The army was no longer paid. Officers and men were justly dissatisfied. Desertions were frequent, mutiny was threatened. The army was obliged to sustain itself by foraging, which often degenerated into mere marauding. The money they had to pay for what they wished to take was worthless, and they therefore seized what the owner refused to take currency for. They often took possession without proffering pay, on the ground that it was useless to offer the paper, which was valueless. In the month of January there was neither bread nor meat at West Point for a fortnight. The English were frozen in at New York, and could not be supplied by the fleet. They had plenty of gold and silver coin, and they paid it out willingly for produce, so that the farmer frequently forgot his patriotism and furnished them with all the supplies they needed.

On January 7th General Paterson wrote to General Heath apprizing him of the desertion of an entire regiment:

"WEST POINT Jan'y 1. 1780.

"SIR,

"I am unhappy to inform you that toward a hundred men from the 4th Massachusetts Brigade have this morning very early mutinied and set off for home with their Arms, I on the first Intelligence ordered a party of about one hundred properly officered to pursue them and bring them back dead or alive, I have likewise sent an officer by Express to get ahead and raise a sufficient n^o of Militia to take them. I shall immediately send another on the east side of the River to take any who shall be able to cross it, I beg your direction in the Affair I am extremely sorry that the affair has happened but am happy that it was not in my Brigade. You must excuse every Inaccuracy being in the utmost hurry. I am Sr

"with esteem and respect your most

"obed^t & very humble Servant

"JNO PATERSON."

"Honble Majr Genl HEATH." *

To which General Heath immediately replied:

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1780

"HEAD QUARTERS ROBINSON HOUSE

"Jan 1. 1780.

"DEAR SIR.

"I am just honored with yours of this date, am exceedingly sorry to hear of the folly of those soldiers who have in a mutinous way departed from the garrison, I approve the steps you have taken,—I have wrote to the commanding officer at Fishkill by express to have his Regt in readiness and not to take them past that place—about fourteen have gone off from the first Brigade a party is gone after them—I have not heard from the second Brigade but have wrote the Commanding Officer to have the Brigade in readiness should occasion require it. Strict discipline and the most spirited conduct must be observed—I had addressed this army in the order of the Day and directed that one gill of rum per man should be served to all the Troops, please to order it done in the Garrison. Since I received your favor I have added another paragraph to the orders have cautioned the soldiers not to entertain an Idea for a moment of following the mutinous example and have told them what the consequences of such conduct will be—

"These circumstances my Dear Sir usher in the new year with disagreeable sensations to you and to me, we will how ever hope and expect, more agreeable scenes soon to take place, to you I sincerely wish them.

"I am with great regard

"Dear Sir Your obedient Servant

"W. HEATH.

"Genl PATERSON."*

The following letter tells of the distress they were in at the Point:

"WEST POINT Jan^y 8th 1780.

"DEAR GENERAL

"I take the liberty to inclose a representation made by the field officers of the Division to me this morning and sensible you will do everything in your power to relieve them, their distress is really very great a number are frozen, lying in the Field & getting their wood, if this severe Season continues I am afraid we shall perish.

"It will be impossible to finish our Barracks unless it moderates, neither Masons or Carpenters can do any business. I have this day ordered one hundred and fifty to break a path to Genl Glovers Brigade and another to mark a road on the Ice to New Windsor where we

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

have Nine hundred bushels of peas for this post which must be transported by hand 1780

"I am with respect your most obt.

"humble Servant

"JNO PATERSON.

"Hon. Maj. Genl HEATH." *

[NOTE.—No petition accompanying.]

The following letter relates to some of the deserting regiments:

"WEST POINT 15th Jan'y 1780

"SIR.

"The Officers of Colo Barley's Regt have requested a pardon for Sergt. Shallock & Waterman whose tryal I send you I did not think it my Duty to do it without your consent

"It seems the officers had it in orders from Colo. Jackson to offer pardon to all that would return, my Intention was to have had them brought back without any concession on our part & then if proper have pardoned those who but deserve it.

"I have deferred the Execution of the Sentence until your pleasure shall be known

"I am your honors most

"obt Servant

"JOHN PATERSON

"Hon. Maj Gen. HEATH." †

On January 16th it was ordered that "in future the Captain of the Day will deliver his report of Guards &c., to General Paterson."

On January 26, 1780, a fire broke out in the quartermaster's barrack at West Point which threatened to do great damage. General Paterson, who was in command of the garrison at that time, not only distinguished himself, but also exposed his person to great danger from the flames to save an exposed building, as he had previously done at Cambridge at the commencement of the war. In relation to this fire General Heath writes the next day:

"HEAD QUARTER'S HIGHLANDS

"Jan 27 1780

"DEAR SIR.

"The repeated instances of Fire of late is a matter of Serious consideration and great care and pains must be taken to investigate if

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1780 Possible the real cause of it if by accident we must increase precaution —if by design the perpetrators are probably in the Barracks of the Garrison and uncommon vigilance becomes necessary, the Guards should be increased and Patroles very frequent. It is surprising to me that the Fire the last night was not discovered by the Sentinels, two or three of whom were planted very near the place, those I trust you have had properly secured for examination.

"We must guard against every least relaxation in duty, if it appears in any instances to be stealing upon us it must be immediately indicated

"I am with grectest regard

"Dear Sir

"Your obt. serv.

"W. HEATH.

"Gen. PATERSON." *

To this letter General Paterson at once replied :

"WEST POINT Jan'y 27 1780

"DEAR GENERAL.

"I have this moment received your favor of equal date. I can with truth assure you that nothing has or shall be wanting in me to guard against accidents of every kind more particularly Fire, as that is attended with the most dangerous consequences in this Garrison.

"A Court of inquiry is now sitting to investigate the unhappy catastrophe which happened last evening. The Centinals who were placed near the barracks when it took fire were immediately confined in order for tryal, others were placed in their stead & a number of additional ones planted on the Ramparts and other places the most convenient, to observe and give information of any attempts which might be made against the Works.

"The guards are increased, and Patroles ordered.

"I am with the greatest esteem Dear General your Hble servt.

"JOHN PATERSON." †

On February 1st General Paterson writes to General Heath concerning the positions he is obliged to give his officers :

"1st Feby 1780.

"SIR

"I received your orders of yesterday think them very proper, but it is not in my power to comply with them, not having a field officer here but what is on Duty that is returned fit for Duty. Colo^s Jackson and

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Marshall command Brigades, Col. Wesson is unfit for Duty, Bedford 1780 & Knap on Court Martial, Col. Simpson on the Lines.

"For this reason I have continued a Captain Officer of the Day until we can be able to put on a field officer.

"The main Guard is increased and to be commanded by a captain as soon as we are able to comply fully with the order and a subaltern Guard ordered to fort Putnam.

"The situation of the Post is in such State that it requires every attention, you may depend that nothing will be wanting on my part as far as my ability will permit, but shall always be happy to follow your particular direction which I am sure you will give whenever it is necessary or disprove my conduct. You may be assured I look on you to be my friend and by your reproofs I shall think your friendship to increase rather than diminish. I am dear Sir

"Your very humble servant

"JOHN PATERSON.

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH." *

On the same day he wrote for a furlough for one of his sergeants:

"WEST POINT Feby 5 1780.

"DEAR SIR

"I have been unwell for several days and am advised to more exercise and as I have some private business at New Windsor and Fishkill would thank you for leave to ride there to-morrow and return the next morning.

"Sergt Stoper Artificer is very urgent for a short furlough. I know the Family he belongs to and believe he may be trusted, but not knowing of your pleasure respecting that Corps did not think myself justifiable in doing of it without your permission.

"I am Dear General

"Your very humble Servant

"JOHN PATERSON.

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH." †

On February 5th General Paterson received the following order:

"HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS Feb. 5 1780

"Sir James Jay has permission to try some experiments in Gunnery at West Point. Brig. General Paterson will please to Desire Maj. Bowman to attend Sir James with such pieces of Ordnance and

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1780 to Discharge them in such a manner as Sir James may request—provided not more than fifteen discharges are made, and those to be between sun-rising and setting—to begin on Monday morning next.”

On February 5th General Heath replied to General Paterson's letter of the first:

“HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS Feby 5th. 1780

“DEAR SIR

“I am just favored with yours of this date, am exceedingly sorry to hear you are indisposed. I have been seeking for an opportunity to write to you every day since I received your other favor of the first Inst. but have not been able to find a moment one misfortune upon the Back of another calls for every moment of my time Day and night. First the Fort on Fire and since that Lt. Col. Thompson's mishap, the loss of all the papers and orders with him have required new ones to be sent to Col. Badlam; I feel exceedingly anxious for the safety of every part of my command and am much obliged by your attention and assistance as our Honor and Interest in the defense of the Posts are mutual you may depend that at all times my motives are to seek the furtherance of both. I fear we are falling into a relaxed state, the Season and distance from the Enemy naturally tend to lull us into security—The Enemy will be practising every art and Strategem against us. I wish they may not have some tools among us. This consideration leads us to uncommon precaution at every post. I would recommend that the gates of all enclosed works be constantly shut every night at eight or nine o'clock and during the present state of the ice I think it would be well constantly to keep a Patrole down the river in the night time to some distance below Swins this may be done at “Trenny”? which if too weak may be reinforced.

“It is with reluctance that I think of your being absent for a night, but if Health requires it you have my consent. The D. A. G. must be due to be at the Garrison during your absence I trust you all times—keep a disposition of the Troops to the several works in case an alarm should happen. I will order you a copy of the distribution of those on this side in such case.

“I am with great regard Dear Sir

“Your obed^t. Serv^t.

“W. HEATH.

“P. S. Please to give Col. Jackson particular Instruction before your Departure from the Point.” *

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

On the same day General Paterson wrote to General Heath 1780
in expectation of an attack on West Point:

" WEST POINT Feby 5th 1780.

" SIR.

" Hearing you had some suspicion of the enemy attacking this post I have as a preparing manner ordered each Fort on this side the river to be particularly inspected this day and put into immediate state of Defense, and the men to be ready to Man the several works that they are destined to on the shortest notice, have sent to the advance guard at Swims to post their Centers so as to have a full view of the Ice and on the approach of an enemy to fire and send Express to me. I have likewise sent a Serjt and party to the Beacon to see that in order.

" If you are by any means sure of an attack here I would suggest whether it would not be proper to cut the Ice across the river somewhere below so wide as to prevent sleighs or even men crossing it, this I think may be done by the fatigue of two hundred men in one day and oblige the enemy to retire or take the Mountains which would be impracticable at this Season on account of the deepness of the Snow.

" You will excuse me for this & believe to be

" Your real friend & very humble Servt.

" JNO. PATERSON.

" Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH.

" N. B. I have ordered but one Company exclusive of the Artillery on Constitution Island supposing that Glovers Brigade would Man that Sufficiently and with the rest assist on this side if you think it necessary for more shall be as your direction. Marshalls & Brooks man fort Arnold, Jackson & Tappers fort Putnam, Bailey & Wesson Wylls Lynes and Fort Webb, Col Bradford with his Regiment to take charge of little Redoubts on the advanced heights.

" J. P." *

To which General Heath replied :

" HEAD QUARTER'S. HIGHLANDS FEB. 5th 1780.

" DEAR SIR.

" Another of your favors of this date is just handed to me, I thank you for your attention and vigilance. The troops should be all times in the most perfect readiness for instant defense, But I beg to be informed from whom you learned that I was suspicious of the Enemy attempting this place, and whether you have received any particular Intelligence from any Quarter. I approve of every precaution you are pleased to mention except cutting the ice which I think can answer but little purpose unless the Enemy should pass very soon

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1780 after cutting, as the water would almost instantly freeze again, let us keep up every necessary precaution and I hope we shall be safer—However if you have an Intelligence favor me with it as soon as Possible. In case of real alarm Sheppards Regt. goes to the two redoubts on the Heights, Vose's to Constitution Island 18th & 15th to reinforce the Garrison.

"I am with great regard

"Dear Sir.

"Your obt^d Sert

"W. HEATH.

"Gen. PATERSON.

"P. S. I believe I may be in the most danger should my quarters be attacked Send the light infantry down on the River Immediately—"*

To which General Paterson replied :

"WEST POINT. Feb. 6 1780.

"DEAR GENERAL

"I received your favor last Evening. Capt. Sewall was the Person that gave me Information that you had sent to have the Houses searched down the River lest the enemy should secret themselves in them and by that means be able to surprise us, from which I concluded it necessary to put the garrison in the most perfect State of Defense, the Officers here thinking I had received some Interesting news by my Orders, exerted themselves and I had as much work done yesterday as would have taken me six Days at another time.

"I thought it my duty (not knowing but you might have received Intelligence of their intending an attack here) to let you know our Situation and the measures I was pursuing. You may depend I shall always give the earliest Intelligence of everything that comes to my Knowledge.

"I am dear Sir your most obt^d

"& very humble serv^t JOHN PATERSON

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH."†

On the 6th General Heath wrote in reply :

"HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS. Feby 6th 1780

"DEAR SIR

"I have received your favor of this date, am exceedingly pleased with your Conduct on yesterday and the good account you turned my supposed intelligence to.

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

"I am just informed by a deserter who left New York on Fryday 1780 evening that the Enemy had received orders to draw four Day's Provision and have it cooked, that a train of Battering Cannon was ready, the talk was that they were going towards Morristown they may have intentions this way Let everything be in the most perfect readiness for defense, let a Sufficient Quantity of Provisions be stored in Fort Putnam and etc. if it is not already done and let the water casks be ready to fill.

" I am dear Sir

" with great regard

" your obed. Servt.

"W. HEATH.

" Brig. Gen. PATERSON." *

About this time public confidence seemed to revive a little. Enlistments were numerous. The State sent considerable sums to encourage them, as shown by the receipt below :

" HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS, Feby 20, 1780.

" Received of Major General Heath twenty six thousand one hundred & ninety pounds lawfull money of the State of Massachusetts Bay to be paid to the Commanding officers of Regiments of the Massachusetts State for the purpose of reinlisting the Troops belonging to said State agreeable to a late Resolve thereof for which I sign two Receipts of the like tenor and date.

" JOHN PATERSON.

" attest E. HASKELL." †

On the 25th of February General Paterson wrote :

" WEST POINT 23rd Feb 1780.

" DEAR GENERAL.

" Knowing that by your Estimation of the last Money you received fell short to a considerable amount, I thought it best to have it accurately looked over, by doing it I find a number of gross mistakes, some bundles over running hundreds of Dollars, others falling short as many, but in the whole it amounts to twenty six thousand some hundred, if I remember right three hundred pounds more than I receipted for to you, which perhaps will make up the sum missing in your account.

" We have had a considerable Rain last evening which has ruined our Bridge, but fortunately I yesterday sent Men to Fishkill who drew down by hand four tons of Flour, which I believe we may be assured is all we can be supplied with for over three weeks at least.

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccxxvii., p. 351.

1780 "We hear nothing of the Flour from the southward, indeed the Roads are now impassible with loaded Teams, how we shall be supplied God knows, but hope for the best.

"I hope you have had better travelling than you expected and a happy sight of your Friends

"I am dear General with esteem

"Your very humble servant

"JOHN PATERSON

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH." *

On the 3d of March General Paterson received the following orders:

"HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS. 3rd March 1780

"A Report is to be made of all the Carpenters in the several Brigades.—The Publick Boats are to be surveyed and those wanting Repairs to be Directly put in order. Brig. Genl Paterson is required to attend to this matter and have it done as soon as possible. Oars and other Requisites are intended in this Order."

On March 5th General Paterson received \$4876 from the State to recruit the 12th Massachusetts regiment. On March 31st General Paterson wrote to General Heath:

"WEST POINT March 31st 1780

"SIR

"I received your favor of the 9th March have sent to the command officers of the 4th & 15th Battalions and shall as soon as they come to hand send the certificates to the Board of war.

"Our supplies are yet very scanty the Forage has been gone these fourteen days and but a little Flour the River has been open three weeks, the chain will be down to-morrow. We have been making every exertion in our power to put the works in a State of defense against an attack which the enemy are loudly threatening, but we are now like a man who has arrived to the age of three score years and ten his eyes dim, his hearing gone, his Limbs paralytic, depending on a broken cane which wounds his hand instead of supporting the feeble body—This in fact is the case with the shattered remains of the once respectable line from the State of the Massachusetts Bay, we once had a respectable soldiering, the men in high spirits, they then had confidence in the Justice and generosity of their Country, in which Confidence they fought, they conquered, they endured hardships, cold hunger and every other inconvenience with pleasure—But alas the reverse in every particular is the case with us at present.

"Our officers resigning by dozens, our men far during the war at home waiting (but in vain) for Justice, what remains are mostly com-

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

posed of nine months abortions, sent here with bounties which ten times exceed those given for the war, naked, lifeless, and dead, who never saw action, are now counting days, hours and minutes they have to tarry in service. 1780

“ Recruiting is now entirely at an end—the parsimony (I will not say dishonesty) of the Court has entirely prevented it—our reports from creditable persons are that the Court are so lost to every sentiment of humanity as to stop even the small pittance given by the Town and private Gentlemen to the poor soldiery, as a small (indeed very small) recompense in some measure to counterbalance their excessive fatigues, fasting, and hardships. Every one must know that making up the depreciation is only making good the wages they had promised and pawned the honor and credit of the State they should receive as an encouragement to enter the service—Taking the bounties out of it (with a number of other encouragements given from time to time by Congress) is such a manifest and open faced injustice that it is beneath a man of sense to use arguments to confute it.

“ You may perhaps think this picture is too high colored, but be assured my Dear Genl. that there is now an intention making head very fast in the line of all resigning and leaving the service, should this take place (as I assure you I have reason to believe will) the consequence I am certain will be fatal. You must conjecture what spirits I can have from this. We have it from the best intelligence the enemy mean suddenly to attack us at this post (tho’ the intelligence and the way it comes to us at present must be secret) Yet I am sure of it. We cannot from the two Brigades here muster more than seven hundred men, the two on the other side I believe about equal, out of them one third at least will have served out their time within three weeks. From this representation which is in fact the truth you must judge of the defense that can be made. You may be assured that from my past sufferings from an ungrateful Country, I shall never give my consent to give up the post as long as my own or a mans life is left. It really gives me pain to think of our public affairs, where is the public spirit of the year 1775? where are those flaming *patriots* who were ready to sacrifice their lives, their fortunes, their all for the public: I can point some of them out in the Court, telling the people that the army are the only persons they have reason to fear, throwing their weight into the scale against those who have fought, bled, and even the widows of those who have been killed in the service of their Country, but drawing the picture gives me pain in writing and I am sure it will you in reading.

“ The Enemy lately made an attack on an advanced Troop at Pyramus, but were drove back with the loss of killed, wounded and made prisoners after burning the Court house and some other buildings at Hackinsack. This is all the news we have except as I have said before,

1780 that preparations were making at New York which by every account is designed against this post. Enclosed you have a receipt for twenty-six thousand one hundred and ninety pounds lawful money, which was the sum I actually received. I have paid it all to the commanding officers of the Regiments but five thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, which still remains on hand. I believe no more will be wanted here, nor do I think that the officers will have occasion to dispose of the twentieth part of what they have got, except they pay it to the old soldiers

" I am dear General

" Your humble Servant

" JOHN PATERSON

" Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH." *

Early in May, two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, declaring their intention either to return home or to forage for themselves. They were only brought back to their duty by the influence of Washington, for whom they had the most unbounded admiration. The dissatisfaction had now reached some of the higher officers. General Greene began openly to assert the incompetency of Washington, and to try to undermine him, to the President of Pennsylvania. In May, the Continental troops between the Chesapeake and Canada amounted to only 7000 men. Those under Washington were only 3760. These Congress could neither pay, clothe, or feed. The English industriously circulated the reports that one half of the American army were ready to desert, that all were dissatisfied, and many were now ready to return to the royal rule. Clinton had four times as many regular troops as were opposed to him. It looked very dark.

Congress paid but little attention to the army. Ever solicitous for the welfare of his command, on May 7th General Paterson wrote from West Point to General Heath a letter which contained some unpleasant truths, begging for provisions for the ill-fed soldiers, and for some action which would prevent their pitiable condition from becoming known to the enemy. This letter is given below. General Heath forwarded it, as a true statement of the case, to the House of Representatives in Boston, where it caused great irritation, and

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

in June they caused a resolution to be entered on the minutes 1780 that it was offensive to them.

"WEST POINT, May 7, 1780.

"*To Major-General Heath, Boston :* "

"SIR: The distress, I was in hopes, arose to its height Years ago; indeed, I then thought our liberties established, but find myself egregiously mistaken. The country, from principles of real Vice, have sacrificed to their darling Mammon the Medium which enabled them to keep an Army in the field and make a stand against Tyranny. This surely will ruin the best Cause Man was ever engaged in, unless some immediate Remedy is found and as suddenly applied. We have been lamenting it as a great Misfortune that the Soldiers were out this Spring in such numbers; but if the unthinking Country will not support what we have now, what would have been our case had we three times as many?

"We have not six days of Meat provision in Garrison, and by accounts from all the purchasers must not expect any until they can be supplied with cash and of a different and better established sort than the present. It must be two or three months, I think, before we can expect it. What shall we do in the interim? To desert this *important post* would ruin the Cause, to live here without provision we cannot, to take it by the Bayonet exceeding disagreeable, but preferable in my Opinion to an Evacuation; indeed, we have but a choice of difficulties, to desert, to take by force, or pawn the public assets in our hands for a short credit. This last perhaps may meet with the approbation of Congress; if not, ruin to him that pursues the plan will be the consequence. I hope the Enemy will not get Information of our circumstances.

"Every Department is at a stand for want of Cash, our Stores are exhausted, the Army unpaid and disheartened. I once thought America had Virtue to encounter the greatest difficulties firm and unshaken, but her conduct shows how weak my Supposition was; indeed, I am fully persuaded the Doctrine of total Depravity (which we have so long denied) is true, and that there is no virtue in man.

"I am ashamed to be continually filling your Ears with Complaints of Details of our misfortunes; be assured I would not do it did not I think it would be of service to the Cause. I am sure you will leave nothing undone to spirit the State to the earliest exertion (they cannot be too much so), for the Crisis is difficult and dangerous, and should we survive I hope we shall be careful of a Relapse.

"We hear from Congress that the Regts. of our State are to be reduced to ten, that the eldest Officers are to have the choice of retiring or continuing. If they retire they are to have half-pay, and at the close of the

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccii., p. 227.

1780 War to be entitled to all the privileges of those that remain in command. I think Congress generous to them, and wish it may be the most proper persons.

"The last accounts from Charleston are that it was completely invested and closely besieged. I wish our troops were out of it, but still hope they will be relieved or sell themselves dear.

"I am, dear General, with perfect regard, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOHN PATERSON." *

The same day, he wrote another letter of the same tenor, he having just heard of the investment of Charleston :

" WEST POINT Sunday evening 7th May 1780

"SIR :

"The iniquities of America are so many and of such a nature that in reason we cannot or at least ought not to expect success unless like the waggoner we pray God to help our Carriage out of the mire without any exertions of our own.

"Our army reduced to nothing, no recruits have arrived, neither do I hear of any coming. I cannot conceive what ideas possess the Minds of the people at home—do they think the war is at an end? If they do, perhaps to inform them that Sixty four, fifty, and eight frigates are in the harbor at Charlestown, and that all our naval armament has fallen into their hands, may alter their opinion for the present, & this you may depend is the case, and that an account of the capture of the Joson is hourly expected, when an immediate attack on this post will inevitably be the consequence—They will have perfectly answered their purpose by drawing a large portion of our force at such a distance that it will make it impossible for them to act again this season in conjunction with us—this Intelligence you may depend upon I have it from Congress and a person of distinction at Morristown, tho' at present only whispered in camp.

"It is indeed very discouraging to the army our numbers are so re-

* This letter was so bitterly true, and the description of the real condition of affairs so accurately written, that it was received with every sign of displeasure, but no other action than the passage of a resolution was taken on it. The treason of Arnold, and the subsequent court-martial of some of the best of the old soldiers, who, finding no other way to get redress, took the law into their own hands, showed how true it was. In some cases the men who were sentenced to be shot were pardoned, it being felt by Washington that the sentence satisfied the law, and that to have executed it on men who had been good soldiers, and who used the wrong means to redress their real wrongs, would have been a mistake.

duced that we cannot call ourselves an army, this you must be sensible of from your knowledge of our situation before you left us. Indeed the officers begin to think the country do not intend to support either them or the cause, and will as they say get out of the scrape as soon as possible unless supported with men. 1780

"I have but a moment to write you, but could only in Justice to our bleeding cause beg you to exert yourself in the affair, you have influence and I am certain you will use it for the common good. We are now reduced to half allowance—every man on duty—our numbers daily lessening, some Regiments at present consist of fifty men only, with that Body of men and the supplies of the garrison you can judge of the defense that can or ought to be expected from us.

"I wish you to hear by the next Express from the southward that our Troops have escaped, but I assure you it is not expected.

"If this loss will rouse the country to exert its natural strength I shall not regret it, but if not, I must conclude they have lost all their virtue (or never had any) and that the cause is tottering on the brink of ruin.

"I have not time to copy this or even to look over it you must therefore excuse all inaccuracies and believe me to be yours with respect and esteem

"JOHN PATERSON.

"Hon. Maj. Genl. HEATH." *

The following garrison orders† were issued in June and July:

"GARRISON ORDERS. HIGHLANDS, 23rd June 1780

"The detachment of Maj Phillips Militia, and the one from Col. Hathorn's Reg. are to be annexed to Brigadier General Paterson's Regiment."

"HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS 28th June 1780.

"The Quartermasters of Genl. Paterson's and late Learned's Brigades will attend at the Commandants Quarters at eight O.Clock tomorrow morning."

"GARRISON ORDERS. WEST POINT 2nd July 1780.

"Forty three men to be detailed for occasional Fatigue from Poor's, Paterson's and Late Learned's Brigades—the residue of those Corps will be employed on the works designated to them."

On July 27th General Paterson wrote from West Point and begged from the President of the Council of Massachusetts Bay a loan of 1500 stands of arms, requesting him to send them immediately, as those expected from Europe had not arrived,

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Orderly Books of the 9th Massachusetts regiment.

1780 and they had not sufficient to arm the new levies, adding that on the "immediate supply the success this year most certainly will in a great degree depend, and probably the events of the war." He did not know then of the new calamity which was to befall the country in the treason of Benedict Arnold.

The scarcity of arms and of provisions had led to the natural result of insubordination arising from the dissatisfaction of the men which expressed itself in disobedience, mutinies, and marauding. The pay of the soldiers was made in worthless paper; the people were tired of the war; they expected deliverance from their enemies, the British, by their allies, the French. The soldiers must have arms. Every one who was not to be present in the rank and file in action was disarmed and their arms given to the soldiers in the ranks and still there were nearly four thousand men who had none.

On the 28th Baron Steuben wrote to Washington that he had asked General Paterson to write this letter to Massachusetts and had also requested General Huntington to write a similar one to Connecticut:

"WEST POINT, July 27, 1780.

"SIR: The bad economy which has inseparably attended the operations of America (until very lately) has reduced our Arms to so small a number that we are not able to Arm our New Levies. From what cause this has arisen is not my business at present to attend to, though I think it obvious.

"The operations of this year depend entirely upon the single circumstance of our being able to procure a sufficiency.

"By some fatal misconduct or neglect the Arms expected from Europe are not arrived, and indeed cannot be expected in season; it is therefore necessary to use every exertion in our power for an immediate supply.

"I have advised Baron Steuben, Inspector-General, to apply to the New England States for the loan of a certain number that they may have on hand or could collect from the several Towns, though this may be attended with difficulty and in some instances to appearance injure individuals, yet when put in competition with an inert Campaign it certainly bears no comparison.

"The Baron has requested of me to write you on the subject. I have not the least doubt that you will do everything in your power to procure

an immediate supply. The success of this year most certainly will in a 1780
great degree depend on it, and probably the events of the war.

"I am your Honor's most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOHN PATERSON.

*"To Hon. J. Powell, President of Council for Massachusetts Bay."**

No movements of troops of any kind occurred until July and August of this year. The army was concentrated at Peekskill on the east side of the river to make a feint toward New York, but Washington afterward changed his mind and marched down the west side of the Hudson on a reconnoissance on a large scale to Forts Lee and Bergen. This movement from the east to the west side took place at Dobbs' Ferry in August. In the same month General Paterson erected a block-house and battery at Dobbs' Ferry to defend the ferry. On August 16th, 21st, 25th, and 31st General Paterson was brigadier of the day. Divine service was celebrated on Sunday, August 20th, in an open field, and a very effective sermon was preached by Chaplain Enos Hitchcock, of General Paterson's brigade. It had been proposed during the summer to attack New York, and some of the generals strongly favored it, but most of them disapproved, and it was not done.

The following receipt for levies was given in August :

"CAMP Aug 29 1780

"Recd. of Ensign Blasdel seventeen Levies from the Massachusetts State which are to serve in the Continental Service six months

"JOHN PATERSON B G." †

On the 6th and 12th of September General Paterson was brigadier of the day. In the formation of the army, General Paterson's brigade was put in Baron Steuben's division, second in the line, on the left wing. On this march he was frequently brigadier of the day. The army was at Orangetown and Tappan August 10th, Teaneck August 31st, Steenrapie September 12th. The sick of the light infantry and of

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccii., p. 397.

† Massachusetts Senate Documents, No. 1899.

1780 the right wing who were unable to march were collected in the rear of General Paterson's brigade. On September 12th he was on a general court-martial at Steenrapie, New Jersey. On that day it was ordered that fifty men, properly officered, from every brigade in the army should attend in the rear of General Paterson's brigade. On September 19th orders to march with the sick were received. On September 15, 1780, he wrote to Baron Steuben as follows:

"SIR: "

"I esteem it my duty to represent to you the disagreeable and distressing circumstances of the brigade under my command for the want of provisions. Had this been new or accidental I should not have taken notice of it, but for a number of weeks we have not had an allowance of meat more than half the time; particularly in this month we have had but seven and a half rations. Should this continue, I am fearful of the consequences. The officers, fretted already by the treatment they have met with from the country, are, I believe, in general determined to quit the service at the close of this campaign, and unless times have a better aspect, I fear the others will follow their example.

"Those in my brigade are really in distress, and depend solely on the rations they receive for support, not one in twenty being able to purchase a dinner. It has also a very bad effect upon the soldiery; they, from being moral and peaceable, I find are giving way to those vices which are the peculiar attendants of an army without provisions.

"You may depend, sir, this representation does not proceed from a feverish, complaining disposition, but the contrary. My wish is to see the army well supplied, which I think will effectually prevent all those evils we fear; resignations, mutiny, and marauding would in great degree, if not totally, be prevented, and a spirit of obedience take place in their stead.

"JOHN PATERSON."

During the absence of Washington at Wethersfield, Connecticut, to meet Count Rochambeau, the general of the French troops, and General Duportail, the admiral of the French fleet, Arnold's treason occurred. The news of it reached the army while it was making evolutions forty or fifty miles below, at Orangetown, on September 20th and 27th. Paterson's brigade left West Point to join the army at Peekskill on the 28th of July. Arnold went there on the 3d and

* Kapp's "Life of Steuben," p. 285.

4th of August. Soured by the treatment he had received, he had for some time been in treaty with General Clinton of the British army, and when his plans had been perfected he asked of Washington as a special favor that he might be appointed to the command of West Point, which was willingly accorded. He did this that he might betray the cause of the Americans.

After the sitting of the court which tried Major André, General Paterson wrote in October a letter to General Heath complaining that the country was not supporting the army properly, and suggesting the best methods of enlisting recruits. As for himself, he declared that he was ruined financially, and must resign on that account. He, however, remained to render very efficient service until the end of the war.

He was brigadier of the day on October 2d, 3d, 10th, 16th, 21st, 31st, and on November 5th, 9th, 13th, 17th, 20th, 24th.

The English themselves, at the time of Arnold's treason, were dissatisfied—thoroughly tired of the war. Every one wished a "speedy accommodation of our present unnatural disputes." They were ready and anxious for peace at any price which would not involve complete independence to the Americans, and they were thoroughly convinced that the majority of the colonies would be glad to reunite with England on almost any terms. The country was bankrupt. The Continental paper money, which had been sustained by law and force, and which was only a promise to pay, with nothing back of it, was rapidly becoming worthless, which was its real value. The recruits to the army were lads whose patriotism was mostly the hope of getting \$1500 for a nine-months' service. Notwithstanding all this, the plans of Arnold were frustrated, just as those of the more astute traitor, Lee, had been twice before.

The condition of the American army in 1780 was very deplorable. Hundreds of the staff officers had been financially ruined by the expenses they had been obliged to incur, and

1780 it seemed as if every obstacle was put in the way of the settlement of their accounts with the country. The bulk of the people were weary of the war. Dissatisfaction was general. The army was ill paid, and ill fed, and made reprisals upon the country in whatever way they were able to. In some of the States where there was no military, martial law was obliged to be used to collect supplies. Mutiny in the regiments was common. The salaries and pay for March were not paid until the end of August. Many of the most intelligent chiefs of the army were obliged to confess that unless the war was carried on by foreign troops and foreign money the country would have to give up. Rochambeau wrote to Vergennes, "Send us troops, ships, and money, but do not depend upon these people or their means." There was even reason to fear that France might withdraw its aid. Congress did not command confidence, as it was rent by faction and intrigue. The party hostile to Washington was gaining power. It was evident that should he be removed, the army would at once become disbanded, and so they were very cautious in their movements, but every effort was made to hamper his movements, or at least to embarrass his designs.

The British knew much of this, but not the whole of it. They had schemed for the reduction of West Point almost from the commencement of the war, and to have captured it would have been a triumph to Sir Henry Clinton, as it was the most important fortress of the patriots, and, if they had captured it, it could not have been retaken by the Americans. The works were supposed to be impregnable to the English and had cost three years of labor and three millions of money, which could not have been again raised. Its possession by the British would have enabled them to check all intercourse between New England and the Southern States. The Eastern States were commercial, the Southern were thoroughly agricultural, and the one dependent absolutely upon the other, so that the loss of the Hudson might even have brought famine. It was supposed that the allies of the Americans

proposed to attack New York, but if West Point was held by the British such an attack would have been impossible. 1780

Sir Henry Clinton supposed that with the surrender of Arnold he would probably capture the whole French army, but this was only a small part of what he wished to obtain. West Point was the chief fortress of the Americans, a stronghold which it would have been of the greatest credit to any general to reduce; but to obtain possession of it, which involved not only the surrender of the garrison, but the acquisition of all its stores, magazines, supplies, and vessels, without shedding a single drop of blood, was a feat that any general might be proud of. It would be a blow which would probably end the war, for the Americans, they well knew, could not have replaced what was lost. Sir Henry Clinton therefore hailed Arnold's defection not only as a triumph of loyalty over rebellion, but as a proof of his own good judgment, in facilitating what the world has stamped as a most infamous action.

After the treason the Pennsylvania division was immediately hurried off to West Point, with a few other troops. It was undoubtedly the absence of the army from West Point which had a great deal to do with the selection of the time for the treason of Arnold. In the meantime, Major André had been arrested in our lines. His trial took place on September 29, 1780. The court was composed of all the generals commanding in the vicinity. It was made up of six major-generals and eight brigadier-generals, and a colonel as judge advocate-general. General Paterson was the youngest brigadier of the American army, and the youngest member of the court except Lafayette. He was at that time one of only eight generals of his rank from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania. No greater compliment could have been paid to these officers by their Commander-in-Chief, since he knew that this trial was to be scrutinized and critically judged by all the governments of the world.

On October 27th General Paterson wrote to General Heath:

1780

"CAMP TOTOWAY, 28th Oct 1780.

"DEAR GENERAL

"I have seen a letter from you to General Glover inclosing a very bulky one from Mr. Cushing requesting your opinion of the best way of raising the Troops for three years or during the War.

"It most certainly is absolutely necessary, but the foolish, childish conduct we have for years pursued, could not have been better calculated to prevent it. Bounties before unheard of have been given to but little better purpose than to hire the populace to visit the army; this instead of checking the growing avarice of the country (which ought to have been their object) has cherished it, till they pay their devotion to no other shrine than Mammons. this Disposition they now find necessary to surmount, but the way to accomplish it they are undetermined in, the prodigy of their own begetting has become not only troublesome but frightful. It is impossible for me to know what will be but unacquainted with the finances of the State and the Disposition of the people, it must be only opinion founded in ignorance, but suppose it political to engage the Men of sense, of learning and ability of every town in the place, they must raise the spirit of the people and if possible revive the enthusiasm of 75—these men must attend particularly to the concerns of the public, they must co-operate with the Court, experience has taught us that the populace have but few opinions of their own, but in every town these persons if they can be engaged to promote, will accomplish any measure they please, they even ought to be bribed to do good, when you have once gained them almost any method will be acceptable. If immediate exertions and those that will suddenly answer the purpose were not necessary, I should tell them the most certain method to raise the men would be to feed, clothe and pay those they now have in the field, that as long as they cheat them no person will enlist and that the pay of a soldier must be as good or better than what he can obtain at home, but this will be a work of time, the fame of it must be known in the country, the simple resolves of the Court will do nothing they have depreciated in a two fold proportion to the circulating medium.

"Classing the men I think is the surest way and will be the best, if the licentiousness of the people can be made to submit to it, and the wise authority will act with a proper spirit and politically it will answer our wishes; but if this should be thought inexpedient they must offer such bounties as will engage them whether to be paid in money specie or sand, the several Towns must be the best Judges, even this will be cheaper than the present mode for I am certain that we shall have no peace till we put ourselves into a position to fight our Enemy, that will continue till the end of the war. One great inducement particularly to the Sixth months men would be a good uniform; perhaps equal town's Bounty we could give them; they are young, gay and

poorly clothed at present and will be almost naked before their times 1780
 expire, indeed no pains can be too great, no jewel too precious to part
 with that will answer our purpose but what bounty would answer
 that end is to me unknown.

"As an individual and citizen I wish let the cost be what it will that
 the men should be raised for the war, I wish to see the Army on a
 reputable footing, tho' I shall not have the honor of belonging to it
 another year. My circumstances are such that I must retire from
 service but shall carry my best regards for the army with me, the
 gentlemen that compose it will have my warmest wishes for their
 prosperity and happiness.

"I am dear General

"With esteem & regard

"Your most obd't & humble Servt.

"JOHN PATERSON

"My best compliments to your family and the families of the
 House

"Hon. M. G. HEATH."*

In October, 1780, at the request of Colonel Varick, who had
 been military secretary to Arnold, and by the advice of General
 Washington, a court of inquiry was held at West Point "to
 ascertain the part acted by Lieut.-Colonel Varick relative to
 the transactions of General Arnold." On this trial those who
 could be present gave testimony. Among others General Pater-
 son sent the letter given below. Colonel Varick was acquitted.

"CAMP TOTAWAY Oct 19th 1780

"*To the Court of Inquiry on the Conduct of Col. Varick:*

"I hereby certify on Honor, That I have been particularly acquainted
 with Col. Varick ever since June 1777 & have ever found him to be the
 diligent industrious officer; He always appeared to be sincerely con-
 cerned for the cause of America & never by Actions or Words, gave me
 the least suspicion to the Contrary

"JOHN PATERSON" †

In October, while concentrating some of the troops at West
 Point, the main army moved to Totoway and remained there
 about six weeks. On October 7th they were at Orange Farm,
 and were ordered to march by Paramus to Totoway and to

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Owned by W. E. Benjamin, New York.

1780 stop at Bogart's Mills. The order was: "The first column will move to the right in the order named and will take the route by Paramus to Totoway. The Connecticut division, General Howe's division, Baron Steuben's division, the Massachusetts corps will patrol during the march for the purpose of taking up stragglers and preventing confusion and disorder. Lord Stirling will direct this column. They will make a short halt to refresh at Bogart's Mills." On November 9th Washington ordered the Massachusetts troops to winter at West Point. On November 27th they left Totoway to man Forts Clinton, Putnam, Willis, and Webb.

On the 28th of November Washington wrote to General Heath:

"MORRISTOWN, 28th Nov., 1780.

"*To General Heath.*

"DEAR SIR,—I gave directions to Generals Glover, Paterson, and Huntington to discharge the levies of Connecticut and Massachusetts, by degrees, upon their arrival at their places of cantonment, beginning with those first who were worst clad and otherwise unfit for service, as this would diminish our numbers insensibly, and not give the enemy an opportunity of knowing the truth before the time which they naturally count upon. You will be pleased to direct the same to be done with those of New Hampshire, and consult with General Knox upon the propriety of dismissing those attached to the artillery also; for I find we shall have occasion to divest ourselves of every mouth that we can possibly do without, and have difficulty enough to subsist afterwards."*

The summer and fall of 1780 were the darkest days of the American Revolution. The people were wearied, and while the British had gained no substantial ground, it seemed now as if they must. Cornwallis was flushed with victory in the south, and again boasted that he would bag in a few weeks all that was left of the rebel army. Congress had shown itself inefficient and incapable. The people had no confidence in it. They seemed to be attacked by a general administrative paralysis. They had adopted the policy of "fiat money." Con-

* Massachusetts Historical Collection, fifth series, vol. iv.

gress had no power to tax. In lieu of it they proposed to use 1780 a printing-press, and really thought that they could create value by issuing a promise to pay, based upon nothing. The people had suffered more from this depreciation of the currency than from the enemy. It was not that the people were less patriotic, or the country less rich. There were plenty of resources, but the relations of the States to each other were not defined. There were jealousies in the States and among the military of the different States, so that a great deal of energy was frittered away. At the end of 1778 a paper dollar was worth sixteen cents in the North and twelve cents in the South. In 1780 it fell to two cents, and Washington said it took a wagon-load of money to purchase a wagon-load of provisions. In October the following wholesale prices ruled in Boston; Indian corn, \$150 a bushel; butter, \$12 a pound; tea, \$90; sugar, \$10; beef, \$8; coffee, \$12; flour, \$1575 per barrel. A suit of clothes was worth \$2000. From here the value of the bills went to nothing. The people, and Congress as well, were obliged to depend on "specific supplies." People were not paid, but furnished with so much flour, beef, rice, potatoes, and rum. The whole country lent itself to the principle of the old-fashioned New England "donation parties," still extant in New England up to the time of the Civil War. It was the darkest period, but it was just before the dawn. If the Americans were exhausted, so were the British, and all that was necessary to finish the war were the successes which were to come in the South.

After the treason of Arnold there was but little fighting in the North. The work of the army consisted mostly of field maneuvers, with some few alarms, but few combats. It was necessary to hold West Point and the Highlands of the Hudson River, and to make feints from there to prevent the British from going any distance from New York. The Highlands got the name of the "hated Highlands" for the reason that there were nearly five years of inactivity spent there while active campaigning was going on in the South. General Paterson was one of those condemned to this inactivity so far as

1780 fighting was concerned, but his record during these years is as bright as it was while he was actively engaged.

Towards the close of the year Congress determined to redeem the two hundred millions of paper already issued by ten millions, bearing interest at five per cent., redeemable in natural produce at the end of six years. Four parts of this were to go to Congress, six were to be divided proportionally among the States according to the amount of old notes which they had issued. The expenditures of the year 1780 were three millions. The French and Spanish loans and this credit were expected to cover all immediate claims. The holders of the old paper, as they were to receive only one dollar of the new issue for forty of the old, did not present it, and before long one dollar in coin became worth as much as five hundred of the old paper. Under these conditions, in February, 1781, Robert Morris was appointed to study the financial situation.

On November 28th the army went into winter quarters, the Jersey brigades returned to that State, the four Massachusetts brigades were added to the garrison at West Point, and the two from Connecticut were stationed on the east side of the Hudson River opposite to Constitution Island. The general headquarters were established at New Windsor. On November 30th General Heath writes: "The four Massachusetts brigades arrived at West Point, where they went into winter quarters." The 4th brigade was assigned to Fort Clinton and its dependencies, the 2d to the defense of Forts Willis, Putnam, and Webb, the 3d (Paterson's) and the 1st to be ready to act as emergency might require, and "on all alarms to form on their Brigade parades ready to receive orders." This winter General Heath was in command in the Highlands and Paterson in command at the "Point." On December 1st General Paterson appointed John Purey and Patric Conolly sutlers to his brigade, "they obeying the Rules & Regulations of the army in that case provided." On December 3d General Heath issued the following orders:

"The fourth brigade is assigned to the defense of Fort Clinton &

its dependencies; the second Brigade to the defense of Forts Putnam, 1780-1781 Willis, & Webb; Colonel Shepards & Colonel Begelows to the former, Colonel Voses to Fort Willis, and Lieutenant-Commandant Smiths' to Fort Webb; the first & third [which was General Paterson's] to act as circumstances may require, and on all alarms to form on their Brigade parades ready to receive orders."*

In a letter to "John Sullivan, in Congress," dated "New Windsor, 17 December, 1780," Washington writes: "The number of brigadiers in the states I have mentioned [viz., the States "from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania inclusively"] amounts at this time to no more than 8, viz., Stark of N. Hampshire, Glover and Paterson of Massachusetts, Huntington of Connecticut, Clinton of New York, and Wayne, Hand, and Irvine of Pennsylvania."†

The year 1780-81 was one of great distress. General Paterson spent the winter at West Point. The season was a severe one. The troops had neither sufficient clothing nor food. The currency of the country was wholly of paper, which was depreciated and depreciating. The army had been obliged to seize grain to keep themselves alive, as the States neglected or refused to furnish it. We had been defeated at Charleston in May, and at Camden in August. We had received reinforcements from France, but they had done but little. Arnold was a traitor. The war was long, and the people began to be tired, and to show the effects of it in apathy about the army. Many of the enlistments had been made just after Saratoga for "three years or the war," but the three years were up, and the war seemed no nearer its close than before. The soldiers wished to be released, but the officers insisted on the contract being kept. Some of the troops marched out of their camps in excellent order to go to Philadelphia to frighten Congress into granting them redress. They refused to listen to the British emissaries; they were not traitors; and actually hanged the men who came from them as spies. They refused

* "Revolutionary Orders of General Washington," p. 144.

† Ford's "Life of Washington," vol. ix., p. 67.

1781 to listen to the officers sent to them by Washington; but finally, when the president of Congress granted them all their terms, they quietly dispersed. The next mutiny, on the 20th of January, was not treated in this way. The troops were surrounded, forced to lay down their arms, and the ringleaders shot.

On January 1st the army was re-brigaded, and Paterson's brigade was made the 2d Massachusetts brigade and included the 2d Massachusetts regiment, Colonel Sprout; the 8th, Colonel M. Jackson; and the 5th, Colonel Putnam. His aide-de-camp was Lieutenant Thomas Cole, and his brigade chaplain was Rev. Enos Hitchcock, a graduate of Harvard and afterward a celebrated Doctor of Divinity at Beverly, Massachusetts. On January 1, 1781, they were at New Windsor. On January 15th, from West Point, General Knox appealed to Congress on behalf of the Massachusetts troops. The order given below shows how the troops were paid, and the confidence which the authorities felt in the eventual success of the war:

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts :

"By His Excellency the Governor

"You are by and with the Advice and Consent of Council, ordered and directed to pay unto John Paterson Brig^t General the Sum of One hundred and Twelve pounds ten shillings one half thereof to be paid in Specie the other half in Bills of the New Emission at their nominal value which is to be hereafter ascertained on account of three Months pay for the year 1780 agreeable to a resolve of the 16 June last for which this shall be your Warrant.

"Given under my hand at Boston the Seventh Day of August 1781 in the Sixth Year of American Independence.

" £112: 10

" JOHN HANCOCK. "

"To Hon. Henry Gardner Esq Treasurer.

"By Order of the Governor with the Advice and Consent of Council

"John Avery Sec'y

"His Excellency the Governor & Honble Council.

"This Certifies that John Paterson Esq, Brigadier General is intitled to receive One hundred & twelve pounds ten shillings in Specie being for

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccxxvii., p. 351.

wages due to him in the last three months of the year 1780 Agreeable to 1781 a resolve of the General Court of March last.

"STEPHEN GORMAN }
 "THOS WALLEY } Committee."
 "SAMUEL AUSTIN }

In May and June General Paterson was at West Point, where he received personal orders from Washington to hold the troops in constant readiness for action, to instruct the water-guards to maintain extra vigilance, and to use every endeavor to obtain information of the enemy's numbers and designs, and to report to him at New Windsor daily. The following receipt and order from Lenox show how tardy and of how little value was the payment of the troops:

"I hereby certify that Mr Ebenezer Bement of Great Barrington on the 10th day of June A D 1777 was by Genl Orders Appointed Brigade Major to Me. In Office he continued to Act, with reputation Till the seventh day of July then next. When at the Battle of Hubarton he was wounded and taken Prisoner, and was not exchanged till the seventh of January 1779 and had not Rec'd the nominal sum of his Wagers untill the 12th of August 1779 I think it my duty on this Occasion to Observe that it appears to me Highly reasonable that Majr Bement should be allowed for the depreciation of the Currency to the time he Received the nominal sum in Continental Currency which was the 12th of August 1779.

"JOHN PATERSON B Genl."

"LENOX April 1781."

In May, in fear of an attack, General Washington sent the following letter to General Paterson, which, with the reply, is given below:

"To Brig.-Gen. Paterson at West Point, H. Q., New Windsor, May 14th, 1781.

"DEAR SIR: I have received yours of this day. Should the enemy still be out, you will instantly put the Connecticut Line in motion, with orders to reinforce the corps under Colonel Scammel. The troops must all be held in the most perfect readiness for action, and the water-guards be instructed to use the greatest vigilance.

"Every effort will be necessary to gain early, regular, and constant intelligence of the enemy's number, motions, and designs, which you will be pleased to communicate to me.

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cexxxiv., p. 290.

1781 "Should anything material happen, I shall wish to be informed immediately, and even though nothing of consequence should take place, you will please to let me hear from you by morning.

"I am, etc.,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON." *

"WEST POINT, May 14, 1781.

"SIR: I have just received your Excellency's letter. The Enemy having retired makes the Disposition mentioned in your letter, with respect to them, at this Time unnecessary. This moment I have received the inclosed Letters, which agreeable to your Excellency's desire, as they contain the latest Intelligence I have, I have transmitted. Should I hear anything more respecting this unhappy affair, I shall as early as possible communicate it to your Excellency.

"I am

"respectfully

"your obedient and very humble

"Servant

"JOHN PATERSON." †

His Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Endorsed

From General Paterson
enclosing letter from Col. Scammell.

In the "Returns of the Third Mass. Brigade.—Commanded by Brigadier General John Paterson, Sept. 4, 1779, to Oct. 27, 1781," only the Colonels' names appear of the regiments in the brigade.

In the "Returns of the First Mass. Brigade—Nov., 1781, to Oct., 1783, Commanded by Brig. Gen. John Glover, Col. Wm. Shepard, Col. Joseph Vose, and Brig. Gen. John Paterson," appears the following :

"Return of the First Mass. Brigade of foot, Commanded by John Paterson, Esq^r. B. Gen'l.

		Absent Officers, &c.	
	Capt ^s	Cushing	Nason
		Haskell	Bill
	Lieut ^s	Cole	Reab
		Trowbridge	
on the staff		Bowles	Dec. 14th
		Davis	ditto, with
		Haskell	names of
		Egleston	North and
		Walker	Cogswell
		Tucker	added "

* Washington's "Letters," vol. iii., No. 65.

† Collection of S. Gratz, Esq., of Philadelphia.

CONTINENTAL BRIGADE UNDER GENERAL PATERSON, 1781-83.

Brig.-Gen. : JOHN PATERSON, Commanding 2d Mass. brigade.*Brigade-Major* : Capt. Abraham Williams.*Aide-de-Camp* : Lieut. Thomas Cole.*STAFF* : { *Chaplain* : Rev. Enos Hitchcock, succeeded by Rev. John Barnett.{ *Brigade Quartermaster* : Lieut. Hezekiah Ripley.

REGIMENTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE.

*Second Regiment.**Col.* Ebenezer Sprout.*Maj.* Hugh Maxwell.*Maj.* Caleb Gibbs.*Fifth Regiment.**Col.* Rufus Putnam.*Lt.-Col.* Ezra Newhall.*Maj.* Moses Ashley.*Eighth Regiment.**Col.* Michael Jackson.*Lt.-Col.* Ezra Bedlam.*Maj.* James Keith.

NOTE.—When in the field in the summer of 1781, this brigade was in the left wing of the army, first line, and in the division commanded by General Lincoln. In 1782, in Camp Verplanck's Point, it was in Major-General Howe's division, in left wing, under General Heath.

1781 Early in May, 1781, General Paterson received under his authority a soldier who turned out to be a woman, Deborah Sampson, who enlisted as a man in Captain Webb's company in Colonel Shepard's regiment, under the name of Robert Shurtleiff. Her height was recorded by the proper officer as 5 feet, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; eyes hazel, inclining to blue. She enlisted in Worcester in company with a large number of other recruits. At West Point her civilian suit was exchanged for the Continental uniform, which was a blue coat, faced with white, a white vest, breeches, stockings with black straps about the knees, half-boots, black stock made of velvet stiffened with leather, a cap with a variegated cockade on one side, a white plume tipped with red on the other, and a white sash about the crown. She was furnished with a French fuse and bayonet, knapsack, cartridge-box, and twenty cartridges. In the month of June she was sent with part of her company to Harlem and White Plains. They defeated there a party of the enemy, and though the battle was unexpected and furious and the man next to her was shot dead at the second discharge, she says that she suffered less from fear than fatigue, thirst, and the heat of the day. She was afterwards transferred with most of her company to Colonel Henry Jackson's regiment.

The American forces early in June were joined by the French from Newport under Colonel Rochambeau. After a series of maneuvers made to deceive the enemy into the belief that an attack on New York was intended, the whole allied army, about the 20th, under the command of Washington, took up its march for the Chesapeake. The army went from the head of the bay to James River in a fleet of transports, consisting of more than 100 vessels, furnished for this occasion by the French Admiral, Count de Grasse, for the capture of Yorktown. She bore the great fatigue and did extraordinary work, unwilling to be outdone by the men in the trenches, and was often exposed to fire. On the night of the 7th of October, she was one in a large

detachment under General Lincoln who were ordered to 1781 open trenches within a mile of the enemy's lines. The night was one of severe labor and exposure, and in the morning General Lincoln, noticing her extreme exhaustion and blistered hands, said, "You have had too great a share of fatigue, my fine lad. Retire to your tent and pleasantly dream an hour or two." Day after day for a week the air was filled with shot and shell. Two large redoubts were held by the enemy three hundred yards in advance of the American lines and severely enfiladed the besieging forces. It was necessary to carry these redoubts by assault. The attack of one was entrusted to a body of French troops under Baron Viomenil, and the other to American infantry under the Marquis de Lafayette. She was engaged in this attack. The redoubts were carried on the 15th at the point of the bayonet. On the 18th Cornwallis surrendered.

After the surrender the army returned North by the same route it had come, and went into winter quarters on the Hudson. In June, 1782, she with thirty others volunteered on an expedition against a party of Tories who were committing outrages on the east of the Hudson. She received two wounds, one in the left temple and the other in the thigh near the groin. She was carried to the hospital, but concealed the wound in the thigh and extracted the ball herself, so that her sex escaped detection. In all respects she acted with bravery, firmness, and resolution equal to any soldier in the regiment.

Peace was proclaimed on the 19th of April, 1783. Being sent to Philadelphia during the summer of that year, she was seized with a malignant fever, which nearly ended her life. During this attack, Dr. Binney, the surgeon, discovered her sex, but the secret was kept and she was transferred to the apartments of the matron of the establishment, and as soon as she was able to ride she was taken to Dr. Binney's house and treated with great attention. On her departure for camp for the purpose of being discharged, Dr. Binney gave her a

1781 letter to General Paterson, in which he disclosed the fact of her sex and the manner in which it was discovered. The General treated her very kindly. She had been well known to him as a brave soldier and had, during a part of the third year, acted as his aide-de-camp and lived in his family during the illness of Major Haskell, who was his aide-de-camp. General Paterson supplied her with a suit of female apparel, but she continued to wear her military costume during the following winter. She received an honorable discharge on October 23, 1783, from General Knox. Testimonials of faithful performance of duty and of exemplary conduct were given by General Paterson, General Shepard, Colonel Henry Jackson, and others. Colonel Jackson's certificate reads :

"To all whom it may concern : This may certify that Robert Shurtleiff was a soldier in my regiment in the Continental Army, from the town of Uxbridge, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and was enlisted for the term of three years ; that he had the confidence of his officers and did his duty as a faithful and good soldier and was honorably discharged the army of the United States."

She arrived amongst her relatives in Massachusetts in November, 1783. She did not immediately make herself known, but at length resumed feminine dress and employments. In 1784 she became the wife of Benjamin Gannett. She had one son, Captain Earl Gannett, and two daughters. She died at her home in Sharon, April 27, 1827, aged 67, sustaining to the end the character of a faithful and exemplary wife and mother and a kind neighbor and friend.

As a soldier she showed great activity, courage, and valor. On scouting parties she would usually ride forward a little nearer the enemy than any of her comrades dared. She was very fleet and had the reputation of being the fastest runner in the army. She went through three campaigns without the discovery of her sex and consequently without the loss of her virtue. Her delicate appearance and particularly her having no beard was often noticed, but her sex was never suspected.

An Act was passed allowing her full pay from the 1st of

January, 1783, for the rest of her life. In 1832 her husband 1781 was granted the same pension as a widow.

She was in Captain Webb's company, in the 4th Massachusetts regiment. On January 20, 1792, the General Court of Massachusetts resolved, on the petition of Deborah Gannett for compensation for services performed in the late army of the United States :

"Whereas it appears to this Court that the said Deborah Gannett enlisted under the name of Robert Shurtleiff, in Captain Webb's Company in the 4th Massachusetts Regiment, May 21, 1781, and did actually perform the duties of a soldier in the late army of the United States to the 23rd day of October, 1783, for which she received no compensation : And whereas it further appears that the said Deborah exhibited an extraordinary instance of female heroism by discharging the duties of a faithful and gallant soldier, and at the same time preserved the virtue and chastity of her sex, unsuspected and unblemished, and was discharged from the service with a fair and honorable character: Therefore, Resolved, that the Treasurer of this Commonwealth be and he hereby is directed to issue his note to said Deborah for the sum of 34 pounds, bearing interest from Oct. 23rd, 1783." *

Thirty-four pounds of Massachusetts currency were equivalent to a little more than \$100.

Deborah Sampson was born on December 17, 1760. At the age of five, her father being absent at sea, or having perished in shipwreck, she was separated from her mother on account of the pressure of want. After a few years, she was placed in the family of Deacon Jeremiah Thomas, in Middleboro, where she remained until the age of ten years. She was very fond of books, but the use of them was sternly frowned upon in this family. However, she succeeded in reading, so that when not quite seventeen she was made teacher of a public school in Middleboro. The books used in this school were the "New England Primer," a spelling-book, the "Psalter," and the "New Testament." A sheet of paper was sometimes allowed the boys to learn penmanship. The chief occupation of the girls was to learn to knit and sew. At the age of twenty, she

* "Giles Memorial," by Vinton, p. 430.

1781 was filled with a patriotic desire to serve the country, and determined for that purpose to assume male attire. The design was not hastily formed, as she had been considering it for several months. She was disgusted with the low employment that was forced upon her, and she had a great desire to see the world, and was, besides, extremely patriotic. She had heard the boom of the cannon from Bunker Hill, and it had inspired her with a desire to be in the fray, fighting for liberty. She spun the cloth out of which her suit of men's attire was made, with her own hands. In April, 1781, she left home secretly and proposed at first to engage on board of a privateer, but gave it up when she heard that the captain treated his men harshly. The population of each town was divided into classes, as they were called, and each class was obliged to furnish a soldier for the army. She enlisted, and was accepted for one of the classes of Uxbridge.*

On May 11, 1781, General Paterson was put in command at West Point.

"GARRISON, WEST POINT.

"May 11, 1781.

"Gen. Heath being called away to another quarter for a few days the Command of the garrison will devolve on Brig. Gen. Paterson until further orders." †

On June 26th General Paterson and others were called upon to account for the moneys they had received for recruiting, which they did.

"HOUSE OF REP. June 26th 1781

"Whereas B. Gen. Paterson and other officers, have received money from Treasurer of this Commonwealth by themselves or through Maj. Gen. Heath, for the purpose of recruiting and have not rendered an acc. of expenditure of same,

"Resolved—that the committee appointed to settle with this States Quota of Con. Army be & hereby are impowered & directed to call upon B. Gen. Paterson, and any other off. who has rec'd money for the purpose of recruiting men for the Army to render to said com-

*Extracted from "The Spirit of '76."

†Heath's Order Book, Massachusetts Historical Society.

mittee an account of expenditure of said money, in order that the same may be adjusted in the settlement of their accounts for the year 1780

“Approved by John Hancock.”

The following extract is taken from the journal of Claude Blanchard, commissary of the French army sent to America during the Revolution :

“I set out very early on the 26th June, 1781, and reached the American army. I stopped at Peekskill, a small village. I could hardly find a room in the inn, which was occupied by Mr. Paterson one of the American generals. Peekskill is situated on the North river which is very broad ; it is almost an arm of the sea, which vessels of war ascend. In some respects it divides America into two parts, and it is upon this river that the fortifications of West Point are found, the important post which Arnold had intended to give up to the English. I went to speak to General Paterson, who gave me an aide-de-camp, to conduct me to General Washington whose quarters were at a distance of two miles. I found him sitting upon a bench at the door of the house where he lodged. I explained my mission to him and he gave me a letter for the quartermaster of Peekskill landing, to which I proceeded. These quartermasters have here, in the army, almost the same functions as we, but with more authority. I set out immediately upon the same horses, although I had more than eight leagues to travel, and in the rain. I passed through another Peekskill where the Americans have their magazines and their arsenals. These are large wooden barracks, built recently, situated between two ranges of mountains. This other Peekskill is on the bank of the river ; it is there they are building our ovens, a business which I found very little advanced. The builder, desiring to make them elegant, sent to a distance for the materials. The next day I went to Poughkeepsie, a village where it was proposed to establish our hospitals, five leagues beyond Peekskill landing, on the road to Albany, and, consequently, to Canada.” . . .

“On the 29th June, 1781, I got on horseback to see some barracks which had been occupied by an American regiment during the winter ; my purpose was to establish a hospital there. On the road I met General Washington, who was going to review a part of his troops. He recognized me, stopped and invited me to dine with him at three o'clock. I repaired thither ; there were twenty-five covers used by some officers of the army and a lady to whom the house belonged in which the General lodged. We dined under the tent. I was placed along side of the General. One of his aides-de-camp did the honors. . . . I have dwelt upon the details of this dinner, because everything that relates to General Washington seems interesting to me.

1781 . . . I have already described his figure. His physiognomy has something grave and serious, but it is never stern, and, on the contrary, becomes softened by the most gracious and amiable smile. He is affable and converses with his officers familiarly and gaily. I was not sufficiently accustomed to the English language to maintain a connected conversation with him; nevertheless we exchanged some words, for instance, respecting the battle of the Chesapeake, which he considered glorious to our arms. . . . In the evening I saw him again; he had come to see General Paterson, in whose house I was lodging. He invited me to come and dine with him as long as I remained in his quarters. On the next day, passing by this house again, he stopped there, caused me to be called, and proposed to me to dine at the house of one of the American Generals to which he was going."

In June the army went into the field at Peekskill. Washington moved down to Yonkers for a feint upon New York. General Paterson's brigade was in General Lincoln's division, left of first line. In July, 1781, he marched from Peekskill toward New York, and took position at Phillipsburg, near Dobbs' Ferry. On July 21st they were at Verplanck's and Stony Point. During the winter of 1779-80 the harbor of New York was frozen over so solidly that crossing from shore to shore was easily done. This was a constant menace to the British, who feared that the Americans would take this occasion to attack the city. The American army was too destitute to attempt any field maneuvers on a large scale, but this was fortunately not known to the British. The fear of the British that an attack would be made was a strong defense to these destitute troops. Both parties were content to watch each other's movements. Nothing was done during the summer which realized any substantial gain to either party. In May, 1781, Washington held a conference with Rochambeau, the French commander, as the result of which the French fleet set sail, it was thought, for the Hudson. Clinton kept himself fully informed of these movements. He expected an attack, and the greater part of the American army expected to make it. Washington had studiously fostered this idea. Movements of the troops were constantly made, apparently with the idea of confirming this opinion. In July, with this end in

view, an attack was made on the English posts. Clinton, cer- 1781
tain that the expected attack on New York was soon to be
made, called on Cornwallis in Yorktown for troops. Each
army was on the alert against any movement. On August
14th Washington heard that Count de Grasse was to enter
the Chesapeake. The American posts were all garrisoned
for defense—those in the north for any attack from Canada,
and those on the Hudson from New York. Every means
was taken to convince Clinton that New York was in great
danger.

The following orders, taken from Glover's Orderly Book,
were given on their respective dates :

“ HEAD QUARTERS

“ PHILIPSBURG 3rd Augt 1781

“ For the day to morrow { Brigdr Genl Paterson
Lt Colonel Badlam
Inspectr Capt. Convers
Piquet Major Spurr ”

“ HEAD QUARTERS PHILIPSBURG

“ 9th Augst 1781

“ For the day to morrow { Brigdr Genl Paterson
Colonel Webb
Inspr Capt. Convers
Piquet Majr Gibbs ”

“ HEAD Q^{RS} PHILIPSBURG

“ 16 Augst 1781

“ For the day to morrow { Brigadier Genl Paterson
Lieut Colonel Badlam
Inspectr Capt. Drew
Piquet Major Spurr.”

“ HEAD Q^{RS} NORTH CASTLE 22nd Augt 1781

“ For the day to morrow { Brigdr Genl Paterson
Colonel Butler
Inspr Capt. Smith ”

On August 11, 1781, Samuel B. Webb wrote:

1781 " Mr. President and Gent of the Court.

"Generals Glover & Paterson will I presume recollect knowing of my appointment while at Trenton ; the latter If my recollection does not fail me I conversed with on the subject. Lt Colo Scull was offered by me when at Trenton a Company in my Battalion, which he would [have] accepted, but was offered a Majority directly after. It cannot be supposed that His Excellency intended Major Lee to have the Rank of me in the 16 when I was then serving as a Lieut. Colo. The Instance between Lt Colonels M. Jackson & Weston & Colonel Marshall are instances which claim the attention of this Board." *

The following orders were issued on the dates specified :

" HEAD QRS, PHILIPS^{burg} 20th Augt 1781

"Majr Genl Lord Sterling will take Command of the right wing of this Army. Majr Genl How the Command of the left wing. Brigr Genl Glover will take Command of the division Commanded by Maj. Genl Lincoln & Brigr Genl Paterson."

" HEAD QUARTERS 24th Augt 1781 PEEKSKILL

"The General thanks the Generals and other officers for their attention & exertion to preserve order on the march to this place & is much pleased with the regularity & soldierly behavior of the troops. The army having now arrived at the camp where they will probably remain for some days, the greatest attention is to be paid to the perfecting the troops in the exercise & manuevers, and performing every part of the camp duty with greatest exactness conformable to the Regulations."

On August 19th Washington broke up camp on the east side of the Hudson, crossed the river, and started for Yorktown. Clinton knew of this movement, but still firm in his belief that New York was to be attacked, thought that it was to be done by way of Staten Island. The army left on the Hudson maneuvered in such a way as to confirm this belief. On August 23d Washington issued general orders for the march. The next day the army had started south. It was not until about September 1st, when Washington was ready to cross the Delaware, that Clinton discovered his mistake, and it was then too late for him to oppose the movement. The army in the Highlands prevented any serious movement of the British, either in New York or New England, and made it unsafe for Clinton to send any reinforcements to Cornwallis

* "Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb," vol. ii.

at Yorktown. When Washington started for Yorktown he 1781
 needed men on whose judgment he could have perfect reli-
 ance, and in whose ability to check any advance on the river
 fortifications he could trust, and so General Paterson and
 others were left to watch the British in New York from their
 strongholds on the Hudson. In August, September, and Oc-
 tober General Paterson was at West Point, in November he
 was at New Windsor, and in December he was at Verplanck's
 Point with General Washington. On December 15th he was
 again at the "Point." On that day it was ordered "General
 Paterson's brigade will muster on Monday next at 11 A.M."
 The Massachusetts divisions remained under General Heath
 to defend the Highlands. General Heath fell back to Peek-
 skill, and the following winter of 1781-82 was spent for the
 most part at West Point. From January to May, 1782, Gen-
 eral Paterson was at New York Huts, near the "Point."

The following orders were issued by Major-General Heath :

"HEADQUARTERS PEEKSKILL 8th Sept^r 1781

"There being at this time Several Captains Vacant in the Massachu-
 setts line, to which the Capt Lieut^s stand first Intitled, being of a
 grade Senior to the 1st Lieut^s. Brigadiers Glover & Paterson with
 Lieut. Col. Hull are appointed a board to settle & determine the rela-
 tive ranks of the Capt Lieut^s of said line & report, that recommenda-
 tions for their promotions may be made accordingly, the board will
 also take into Consideration the claim of Lt Walker and others thereon,
 and also hear & determine the dispute of ranks between the Sabaltern
 officers of the Mass^{ts} Line Conformable to the report of the board of
 Genl Officers to the Comm^{dr} in Chief."

On Wednesday, September 19, 1781, Paterson's brigade
 moved on to West Point, and all the detachments there joined
 the respective regiments to which they belonged.

On November 23d General Paterson wrote to General
 Heath :

"WEST POINT 28th Nov 1781.

"SIR.

"I have as Genl McDougall is absent received the prisoners sent here
 by your Order. It is impossible to find them any cover at present, the
 new provost is not finished and the old is now so full that they cannot

1781 sit or lie down it consists of but two small Rooms and has sixty eight persons confined in it, forty five of which are prisoners of war lately arrived from Albany.

"I have ordered the twenty from Camp for this evening confined in the lower Room of the new but they must lie on the ground and mostly uncovered. I wish for their sakes and the sake of the garrison if it can be that the prisoners of war may be sent away to morrow the season is so cold that the Health of the Guard as well as prisoners must be exposed lying on the ground uncovered.

"I am Sir

"Your very humble Servant

"JOHN PATERSON.*

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH."

On December 7th General Paterson wrote again to General Heath:

"WEST POINT 7th Dec. 1781

"SIR

"I am informed by Mr Edwards D M that the light Infantry have the small pox among them if this should be the case and they admitted into the Barracks and Hutts, it may be attended with fatal consequences, and perhaps be communicated through the Militia all over New England.

"I have mentioned it to Genl McDougall who being in haste desired me to write to you on the subject, he thinks they ought to be kept separate for a few days and wishes me to suggest whether the Hampshire Hutts could not be assigned for that purpose until it can be known whether they are infested or not.

"I am Sir your most

"humble Servant

"JOHN PATERSON.†

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH."

On December 8, 1781, the following brigade orders were issued:

"One Hundred and fifty boards are now ready to be delivered. Q Master Foot will call on Genl Glover at Genl Patersons Quarters, when an order for the boards will be ready, they will be equally divided between the Regiments." ‡

The following garrison orders were issued by General Paterson on December 14, 1781:

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

‡ American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

"The Drummers of Gen^l Patersons Brigade, will beat off the Revilee 1782 Troop and Retreat, from the Commandants Quarters except in foul or extreem cold weather." *

On December 15th :

"The Regimental Surgeons of Gen^l Patersons Brigade will, by a weekly notation, to be settled among themselves take care of the prisoners in provost till a Surgeon of the Hospital comes on the Point." †

On January 18, 1782, General Heath put General Paterson in command of West Point :

"HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS

"Jan^y 18, 1782

"Major General McDougall being ordered in arrest, the Command of the Garrison of West Point devolving on you, you will please to exercise the Command accordingly the Posts at Verplanks and Stony Points are considered dependencies of the Command, you will please pay all possible attention to the Garrison Forts Redoubts Magazines etc—and see that everything is kept in as perfect condition as possible, and the greatest vigilance observed by the guards and sentinels, please advise me frequently of the state of things.

"I am with great regards

"Dear Sir

"Your obed Servt

"W. HEATH ‡

"Brigadier General PATERSON."

To this letter General Paterson replied, on the 19th:

"WEST POINT Jan. 19 1782

"DEAR SIR

"I received yours of yesterday appointing me to the command of the Garrison in consequence of General McDougall's arrest.

"I wish to know from you whether I am to consider this as a Garrison or not—If it is a Garrison how far my orders ought to extend and where they are to be limited, this I must request least I should tread on forbidden ground

"I am dear Sir, your most obedient

"humble servant

"JOHN PATERSON §

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH."

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

§ Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 To this letter General Heath replied :

" HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS Jan'y 19 1782

" DEAR SIR,

" Your favor of this date is just come to hand, West Point is now considered in the same light as it was heretofore, no new ordinance or general order that I know of has made it otherwise it is considered as a Garrison but is not placed under the command of a Governor with a distinct or separate command as Cities Towns or Fortified Places sometimes are. It has been, you are sensible, and now is to be considered under the command of the Commanding General of the Department to whose General Orders the Commandant and Garrison are to yield obedience in common with other posts and parts of the army. But the Commandant has the command of the Police and Government of the place in such manner as he may think proper not repugnant to the orders of the Commanding General for there must you are sensible always be *One Head*, the Deputy of each Department present, and all the great Magazines and reserves in the Department which are designed for the use of every post or place within the Department are subject to the orders and control of the Commanding General only as the principles of Department are to the Commander in Chief, and as the officers of respective departments are accountable for all stores etc. which they receive, and no order but that of the Commanding General or such person as he may delegate a power to, is at liberty to do it can be a voucher in passing the accounts if such officers as are entrusted with public stores, but the assistant of each Department placed at any post, and the stores under their respective directions designed for the use of such posts are equally under the orders and directions of the Commandant conformable to the regulations—all the posts in the Highlands are strictly dependencies of West Point, but when the whole army become a Garrison to these posts as is at present the case the service requires that some of the posts be under the immediate command of different officers, Stoney and Verplanks points are still considered as dependencies of West Point are therefore subject to your immediate orders, and I wish your every attention to those as well as all other matters necessary to the good of the service in the Garrison or at any of the works at West Point. Please also remember that the Guard Magazines are to claim your utmost attention for their preservation. If this is not sufficiently explicit I will further explain any matter which you may request.

" I am with great regards

" Dear Sir

" Your obed. Servt

" W. HEATH.*

" Brig. Gen. PATERSON."

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

On January 19th General Heath wrote to General Paterson :

" HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS Jan 19 1782

" DEAR SIR

" I will thank you for information, how and to what works the different Brigades and Regiments which compose the garrison, are disposed, this should be done in such a manner as to be perfectly understood by every officer and man. I presume it was done by Major General McDougall, but as I have not seen the distribution, request it by the first opportunity, understanding that you have some doubts on your mind whether by the general order of the 4th Instant you could open the Guard Magazine in case of any sudden attack on the post of West Point that order was not intended to operate in such an Emergency, nor is it to be understood, in such case the Commandant of the Artillery for the posts would instantly see that every gun etc was properly found. It is the issue in common cases which are forbid by the order of the 4th which order must be strictly obeyed. Enclosed you have the Paroles and countersigns from the 19th to the 23rd Inclusive.

" I am with great regards

" Dear Sir

" Your obed Servt

" W. HEATH.*

" Brig. Gen. PATERSON."

On January 22d General Paterson replied :

" WEST POINT Jan 22 1782

" DEAR SIR

" The Troops of the Garrison, previous to my taking the command were destined to the several works in the following manner viz—The second Massachusetts regiment Forts n^o 1 & 2.—Fifth, n^o 3 & 4.—Eighth, Forts Putnam and Wyllys—The corps of Sappers and Miners, all the Inhabitants in the vicinity of the Garrison with the Settlers under the command of Capt. Buchanan (optional to choose their other officers) and the Artillery not Designated to any particular post, in Fort Clinton—The First Brigade a reserve. Fort Clinton is so embosomed among the other works it was proper to leave it more thinly manned and the out lines strongly guarded. These alarm posts are well known to the regiments, as they have frequently taken them.

" There is a detachment constantly employed in making and have already made upwards of ninety thousand shingles of a very good quality—the number is to be completed to one hundred and twenty thousand for the purpose of covering the hospital, and some buildings

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1783 which are to be placed near the upper Landing, for the use of the Quarter-Masters Department and the Artillery. We have a party digging and piling up stone for the purpose of the aforesaid buildings. A quantity of clay is dug within a few rods of the Barracks sufficient to make a brick kiln in the Spring. A Lime Kiln is established in the vicinity of this Garrison in which has already been made fifty one barrels of unslacked lime at one time.

"A detachment of fifty or sixty men properly officered under the direction of Col. Putnam, are employed on the new road: this being of great consequence to the garrison, particularly so should there be no communication to the Country by the River. I intend to push it with the greatest vigor, unless I have your orders to the contrary.

"I afford the contractors every necessary aid in the power of the garrison for getting in provisions.

"The necessity of the soldiers making a military appearance on duty agreeable to the orders of his excellency the Commander in chief, requires a certain quantity of soap and flour for dressing, the manner to obtain which I wish you to point out.

"Col. Putnam having been chosen to join General Knox in presenting a memorial and petition to Congress which he will have the honor to lay before you; Col. Putnam informed the officers you expected him to assist you in settling some Forage accounts—the gentlemen considering the short time (two or three weeks) it is expected he will be employed, desire you will dispense with him during that time, which I wish you to signify to me, if it is your pleasure.

"I have received information from the officers commanding at Stoney [and] Verplanks points, that the allowance of candles is by no means sufficient for performing of their posts during the night. I wish to know how they are to be supplied with a sufficiency.

"The soldiers of the 8th Regiment broke out yesterday with the small pox in consequence of which I have just seen one of the contractors. Directed him to go to Fishkill to hurry on the hospital stores. It is my intention that the inoculation commence on their arrival.

"I have ordered a return of all ordnance stores assigned to the different works under my command with an estimate of what will be necessary, which I shall transmit you as soon as it is handed me.

"I am respectfully Sir

"Your most obedient

"humble servt

"JOHN PATERSON.*

"Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH."

To this letter General Heath replied:

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

" HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS Jan 23. 1782 1782

" DEAR SIR.

" Your favor of yesterday was duly received, as I think some alteration may be made in the disposition of the Troops of the Garrison to their alarm posts I will defer observations thereon for the subject of another letter.

" I am happy to hear that so large resources for materials for building are found in and near the garrison as they will tend to facilitate the completion and repairs of the public works which will claim the first attention of the artisans in the Spring and which necessity compelled us to omit last Fall, the collecting these may be very well but I would not have the men too much worn down during the winter with hard extra fatigue, their health and discipline are to be preserved and their situation made as comfortable in Quarters as possible that they may be rendered ' fit for early, vigorous and decisive action.'

" If the road you mention promises to be of public utility I would have you prosecute the completing of it. The scantiness of the allowance of soap I have represented to the Secretary of war having been long convinced that it was not sufficient.

" I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot consent to Col. Putnam's going to Philadelphia on the business you mention. He is named one of the arbitrators for Settling an intricate and difficult dispute respecting the Forage consumed by the allied army in West Chester County the last summer. My instructions from Congress are pointed respecting it and the State of New York consider it as a very interesting object to them. The arbitrators are soon to meet, were it not for this Circumstance nothing beside should lead me to deny the request and in the present case I assure myself the officers will be satisfied with the reason of the denial.

" The Quarter Master General is now here, he will soon issue the Barracks allowance of candles, which will remove the difficulty you mention at Kingsferry and afford relief elsewhere.

" I think it highly necessary that you should put the Troops under Innoculation the moment the stores are ready. I am glad to hear you have sent to quicken them. The Innoculation will be another consideration for lessening your fatigue.

" Please inform me what officers now command at Verplank and Stoney Points.

" I am with great regard

" Dear Sir

" Your obed. Servt

" W. HEATH.*

" Brig. Gen. PATERSON."

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 To this letter General Paterson replied on the 25th :

" WEST POINT Jan 25 1782

" DEAR SIR

" I have received your favor of yesterday. The alarm posts are not conformable to my sentiments—but as you have intimated your intentions of giving your ideas on the subject, I shall make no alteration till then.

" The large quantities of salt provisions in the magazine, which is to be delivered the Contractors as soon as it can be repacked and weighed, I am apprehensive is in a bad state, and the longer the matter is delayed, will be growing worse. I beg leave to recommend Mr. Frost late Commissary to my brigade, now waiting to have his accounts settled, as a faithful person, suitable to oversee and would willingly overtake the business if he can be secured of his pay. If you approve of Mr. Frost please signify the conditions and I will propose the matter to him. There is a quantity of salt shad which the contractor thinks ought to be issued before the time of fresh fish. He having no such article in his contract, wishes to know how it shall be issued, to make it equivalent to the allowance of beef. If this should be delayed he would think himself under no obligation to take the fish, the public would of consequence lose it.

" I have nominated Major Maxwell on the part of this garrison for adjusting the disputes between the contractors and the Army agreeable to your order.

" Capt. Larned of the 4th Mass. regiment is at Verplank's and Captain Pierce of the 8th regiment at Stoney points.

" I have so much business on hand I cannot tend to the affairs of Mr. Stratton which I find to be an intricate matter, without neglecting my duty, for which reason I wish you would excuse me. The settlement of the subaltern rank is not yet completed which claims the whole of my leisure hours.

" I am my Dear Sir with much respect

" your most obedient Servant

" JOHN PATERSON.*

" Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH."

To this letter General Heath replied on the 25th :

" HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS Jan 25 1782

" DEAR SIR,

" Yours of this date is just come to hand. I will give you my sentiments respecting the alarm posts the moment I can find time to commit them to paper, in the mean time will thank you for information whether the 1st Brigade which you say was to be held in reserve

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

was directed to be on their own parade or at any particular place where they were to receive orders. 1782

"As the late commissaries department are to deliver over the latter provisions to the contractors and take duplicate receipts therefor they will of course attend to the business until it is finished, I will write Mr. Stevens on the subject. I have the highest opinion of Mr. Frost but cannot assure him pay or engage him in service which I suppose Mr. Stevens is attending to.

"Mr. Sands will be here to morrow. I will mention the matter of the Shad, they had best be issued.

"I will consider Strattons case being referred to another Board.

"I am with great regards

"Dear Sir,

"Your obed^t Serv^t

"W. HEATH.*

"Brig. Gen. PATERSON."

On February 3d General Paterson wrote to General Heath:

"WEST POINT Feb. 3rd 1782.

"SIR.

"As Col. Pickering has not furnished us with candles, I have been necessitated to give orders on the contractors for supplying the Provost and other guards: but there being no regulations for such a measure, I shall discontinue it and wait your directions.

"I beg leave to observe that the Provost magazine guards are of so much importance, that a failure in that article may be attended with serious consequences.

"I am, Sir, with respect and esteem

"your most obed^t Serv^t

"JOHN PATERSON.†

"Hon. MGen^l HEATH."

On February 3d the officers assembled at West Point proposed to send by Capt. Haywood a petition to Congress relating to the settlement of their arrears of pay which had been promised them:

"WEST POINT, Feb. 3, 1782.

"SIR: The officers of the Massachusetts line having made choice of Captain Heywood to go to Philadelphia with their memorial, I wish you to take the trouble of informing the commanding officers of the several regiments under your command that it is necessary they send to Capt. Heywood as soon as possible, the sum (ten Dollars) which was

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 voted, at a former meeting of the officers, to be advanced for defraying his expenses.

"I am, sir, your most obedt Servt

"JOHN PATERSON.*

"Colonel H. JACKSON."

Of this action a committee, of which General Paterson was one, wrote to General Heath:

"WEST POINT Feb. 5. 1782.

"SIR.

"The officers of the Massachusetts line have the honor to inform you that they have prepared an address to Congress, on the subject of procuring a settlement of all arrears due to the line up to the thirty first of December 1781, a copy of which will be shewn you by Captain Heywood, who is appointed to join B. General Knox to present the same to Congress, which they hope will meet your approbation and support.

"We have the honor to be

"Sir, with the highest respect

"your most obedient

"humble Servants

"JOHN PATERSON B Genl

"RUFUS PUTNAM Colo

"JOHN CRANE Colo †

"Hon. M Genl HEATH."

On February 5th General Paterson wrote again to General Heath:

"WEST POINT Feb. 5 1782

"SIR,

"The following is a disposition of the regiments at the alarm posts, of this garrison—viz—

"First Mass. regiment assigned to Redoubts, No 1 & 2.—Seventh No 3 & 4.—fourth as a reserve to parade on the height in the road leading from No 2 to 3.

"Eighth Regiment, Forts Putnam, Wyllys & Webb, second Fort Clinton—fifth to repair to the parade in front of the long Barrack as a reserve.

"I have sent herewith a Return of Ordnance etc. of the posts under my command. I wish you would please to order a proportionable quantity of small arms, accoutrements, and ammunition set off to the commanding officer of artillery who will receipt for them on your order, and can daily issue them if called for, thereby securing the post

* From the collection of Chas. Roberts, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

from accidents which a deficiency of this nature might subject them to. As recruits will be daily coming small arms will be wanted by ones, twos & threes—a number assigned for this garrison will not only prevent much trouble to you, but perhaps a neglect which too often happens, when arms are at a great distance, of leaving members in a regiment for some time without arms:

“I am Sir, with the highest regards

“your most obedient Servant,

“JOHN PATERSON.*

“Hon. M Genl. HEATH.”

To this letter General Heath replied:

“HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS Feb. 5th 1782

“DEAR SIR.

“Your favor of this date with a return of ordnance and ordnance stores etc. is come to hand. I think your distribution of the Troops a good one. I shall direct Colo Crane to see that there is a proper arrangement of the necessary stores for Fort Clinton.

“Army accoutrements or ammunition cannot be set off to the commandant for the purpose of issuing to recruits etc. it is totally inadmissible, is not to be done but strictly conformable to the rules and orders heretofore preserved and published I shall never think it a trouble to attend to those matters which are my duty.—and if the Commander in Chief *thought it proper* on the 5th of May last when I was quartered on West Point and had command not only of the Troops quartered there but of the whole cantoned in the Highlands that no arms or accoutrements should be delivered untill the returns were carried seven miles to be Countersigned and Registered by the Adjutant Genl. no person can suppose it to be a hardship to come to my quarters when situated in the Bowels of the Post.

“I am with very great regard,

“Dear Sir,

“Your obed. serv^t

“W. HEATH †

“Brig. Gen. PATERSON.”

On February 5, 1782, General Paterson, as one of a committee, forwarded the following memorial to Congress:

“*To the United States in Congress assembled the memorial and petition of the officers of the Massachusetts line of the army humbly sheweth,*

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 "That the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, agreeable to the recommendations of Congress has settled with their line and adopted measures for the payments of all arrears due to them by reason of the depreciation of the currency from the first day of January one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven, to the thirty first of December one thousand seven hundred and eighty so far as it respects their monthly pay.

"But with regard to such arrears as are due to the officers on account of retained rations, or subsistence, and the non-commissioned officers and privates for deficiencies of cloathing, the Commonwealth has not, as yet, taken them into consideration; it being considered as out of their power to liquidate those accounts, upon just principals, agreeable to the intentions of Congress; as they are not furnished with the necessary accounts of cloathing delivered the non-commissioned officers and privates, or the advances of cloathing, and other supplies from continental stores to the officers, which are to be taken into consideration upon a final adjustment of their respective accounts, agreeable to a resolution of Congress of the tenth of April one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

"That there are other arrears, to a considerable amount of pay and subsistence, due to the said line for their services in the year eighty one, which cannot be settled, as they conceive, by the Commonwealth, by means of the irregularity of advances to different corps and detachments, untill an adjustment of those accounts is first had in the Pay-office, and proper vouches of the amount, under continental authority furnished.

"That the officers of the line consider it reasonable that they, as well as the citizens, should reap present benefit from their past services, and have it in their power, if occasion requires to negotiate with such sums as are due to them from the public. They therefore beg the attention of Congress to those arrears, that such a liquidation of their respective accounts may take place, and such measures adopted for paying the ballance to each individual as Congress in their wisdom & justice shall think fit.

"That the officers of the said line further beg leave to inform Congress, that they have ever viewed with the highest satisfaction, their constant attention to the wants and distresses of the army, and have to attribute only to the exigencies of want and the real want of resources, that they have not at all times experienced every convenience they could in justice expect.

"That it is with gratitude they observe the liberal provision made for those who shall continue in service to the conclusion of the war, as well as the widows and orphans of those who unfortunately lose their lives in the service of their Country before that wished for period shall arrive.

" Impressed with a sense of the goodness of Congress, and considering that a just settlement of the aforementioned arrears cannot be had in any other way, as the accounts of all advances in behalf of the United States are in the hands of agents immediately under their direction, the Massachusetts line have therefore thought proper to lay the matter before this honourable Body, not doubting they shall have every attention paid them, that their circumstances require, and as in duty bound shall ever pray. 1782

" JOHN PATERSON B. Genl	} Committee of the officers of said line
" RUFUS PUTNAM Colo	
" JOHN CRANE, Colo	

" WEST POINT February 5. 1782

" [Original Manuscript] [Sealed and addressed to] His Excellency
JOHN HANSON, Esquire

" President of Congress
" Philadelphia." *

The same day the committee wrote to General Knox and Captain Haywood :

" WEST POINT February 5, 1782

" DEAR SIRS,

" The subscribers have the honour to acquaint you, that at a meeting of the officers of the Massachusetts on the twenty first day of January instant, you were appointed to lay their memorial before Congress.

" You are therefore desired to proceed to Philadelphia as soon as may be, and use your utmost endeavours with that honourable Body, that a mode may be adopted for a speedy liquidation of the accounts of all arrears due to the line up to the 31 of December 1781, that the money or negotiable securities may be given for the ballance due to each individual respectively.

" The members of Congress from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts have been addressed on the subject of your appointment, it will therefore be expedient for you to lay your business before Congress through them, who we doubt not, will use their endeavours to give it a favourable reception.

" It is also the wish of the officers of the line, that you would wait on the honourable Major-General Lincoln at Philadelphia with your appointment, and a copy of the memorial, as they are persuaded the distinguished abilities of that Gentleman, and the readiness he has ever shown to promote the just expectations of the line that his connexions

* William Lincoln's " Manuscript History of the Revolution, 1774-1783," American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1782 and influence with the members of Congress in general will be of particular advantage to you in accomplishing the important business of your appointment.

“ We are Gentlemen, by order and
 “ in behalf of the line
 “ your most obedient servants

“ JOHN PATERSON B Gen ^l	} Committee
“ RUFUS PUTNAM Colo	
“ JOHN CRANE Colo	

“ Brigadier General KNOX

“ Capt. HEYWOOD

“ [Original Manuscript] [Sealed and addressed to]
 “ Brig. General KNOX, and Captain HEYWOOD.” *

The same day they wrote to the members of Congress from the State of Massachusetts :

“ WEST POINT February 5, 1782.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ It having been considered as impracticable for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to conclude a settlement with their line of the army agreeable to the intentions of Congress, expressed in their resolves, so far as they respect deficiencies of officers retained rations, or subsistence, and the soldier's cloathing ; and as no particular mode of liquidating those accounts is pointed out in the resolves, the officers of the Massachusetts line have, therefore, thought proper to petition that honourable Body on the subject.

“ They flatter themselves that the propriety of this measure will appear, when it is considered, that the difficulty of adjusting such complicated accounts is always enhanced in proportion to the period of time they have been outstanding, that unless they are taken up while there are persons in office, who were conversant in those accounts, it will necessarily be attended with much loss of time and expense to individuals, ever to have them properly adjusted,—not to mention the risque many persons run in keeping public papers on hand, which are necessary for their justification.

“ The irregularity of advances during the year eighty one, to particular corps or detachments, rendering it extremely intricate, and perhaps impracticable for commanding officers of the standing regiments, to exhibit authentic accounts of those advances to the Commonwealth, has induced the officers of their line, likewise to solicit the interposition of Congress, with regard to a settlement of their pay

* William Lincoln's “ Manuscript History of the Revolution, 1774-1783,” American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

during that time, as well as deficiencies of subsistence, and the soldiers 1782
cloathing which they apprehend can be executed by Auditors acting
under the direction of Congress, with much more despatch and less
expense both to the public and individuals, than in any other way.

"From the above reasons we doubt not, Gentlemen, you will be
convinced of the expediency of this mode of settlement for the year
eighty one rather than that adopted by the State in their resolve of
the first day of October 1779—Though at the same time, the line have
to acknowledge the constant attention of the Commonwealth, to the
wants and distresses of their army and the reiterated efforts, they
have ever made to fulfill every engagement.

"We flatter ourselves that the influence of the distinguished char-
acters, who represent the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in Con-
gress, will do much in promoting the wishes of the line and finally
bring the matter to a favourite issue.

"We beg leave, Gentlemen, to refer you to Brig. General Knox
and Captain Heywood who are appointed by the officers of the line,
through you to present their memorial to Congress, for such further
information as may be necessary.

"We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"with the highest respect in behalf

"of the officers of the line, your most

"obedient humble servants

"Honble Members of Con- gress from the State of Massachusetts	"JOHN PATERSON B Genl "RUFUS PUTNAM Colo "JOHN CRANE Colo	} Committee.
"[Original manuscript.]		

"[Sealed and addressed],

"The Members of Congress

"from the Commonwealth

"of Massachusetts

"Philadelphia." *

On February 8th the following garrison orders were issued :

"HEAD QUARTERS, HIGHLANDS Feb. 8th 1782

"The General has lately received the revision of the rank of the
Captains in the Massachusetts Line, reported sometime since to the
Commander in Chief, by a Board of General and Field officers.

"Many alterations have been Occasioned since by the promotion of
some Captains to Field Officers, the Deaths and Resignations of others,
the Promotions of some to Captaincy's which renders the arrangement
incomplete,—

* William Lincoln's "Manuscript History of the Revolution, 1774-
1783," American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1782 "Brigadier General Paterson, with the Field Officers commanding Regiments in the Massachusetts line, are hereby appointed a Board for the completing said arrangement as soon as possible & make Report." *

On February 19th Washington wrote to Major-General Heath :

" PHILADELPHIA, 19th Feb., 1782.

"To Major-General HEATH.

" DEAR SIR,— Yesterday's post brought me your two letters of the 8th and 18th instant, with a note of General Paterson's enclosed." †

On February 25th General Paterson wrote to General Heath :

" WEST POINT Feb. 21, 1782

" SIR,

" There are a no. of pieces of Cannon in redoubts No 1 & 2, which never were proved, and by representations made to me I fear they will fail us upon trial. If you have no objection I will direct the Commanding Officer of Artillery to prove such as he may think will need it.

" The commanding officer of artillery for this garrison finds it impossible to do his duty without permission to keep a horse, having frequently occasion to go to Verplanks and Stoney Points as well as the other different Forts and redoubts, which in this season of the year, I am sensible must be difficult, unless the request can be granted.

" I am sir with respect & esteem

" your obedient Servant

" JOHN PATERSON. ‡

" Maj. Gen. HEATH."

On March 5th General Paterson wrote to General Heath :

" WEST POINT Mar 5 1782

" SIR.

" The Provost is exceedingly crowded with prisoners and eight or nine have got the small pox the natural way, Dr. Eustis has represented to me, that their situation is dangerous and thinks it necessary they should be removed from amongst the other Prisoners immediately, for fear they should occasion a contagion which would be dangerous to the garrison—I have made every exertion in my power to have them removed to some convenient place here, but find it utterly impossible at present, every Hutt being filled, either with soldiers or

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Collection, vol. iv., fifth series.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Artificers—I submit it to you whether it would not be best to have 1782
them removed to some convenient place on the east side of the River.

“Peter la Gaumsee a very good honest man, formerly an officer in our service, to my knowledge took an early and decisive part in Canada under Gen. Montgomery, and when the British arrived at Montreal the place of his residence, was obliged to leave his all, and retreat with the army—he has served as a Baker in the Garrison for some time past, but is now out of employ. I would ask, whether he is not a proper object to be indulged in to draw provision—If you think he is, beg you will please to give an order.

“I am Sir

“with great regard

“your obed. Servant

“JOHN PATERSON.*

“Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

On March 12th Washington wrote to Major-General Heath :

“PHILADELPHIA, 12th March, 1782.

“To Major-General HEATH.

“DEAR SIR,—General Paterson’s information respecting the Indian chief is yet so vague that there is no coming to any determination upon it. He may desire his friend to prosecute the inquiry ; and, if he finds there are good grounds to believe the Indian sincere, measures may be taken to bring him over.” †

On March 19th General Paterson wrote to General Heath :

“WEST POINT, 19th Mar. 1782

“SIR,

“Enclosed is a report of the men and materials so necessary to refit Fort Putnam.

“To morrow morning I shall send as many fatigue men as the garrison will admit to lay up the Breach, until such time as the materials etc can be procured.

“I beg you’ll write me upon the subject and give me some directions or it will be impossible for me to turn the number of men on the side which will be necessary—

I am Sir

Your obed^t Servant

“JOHN PATERSON.‡

“Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Collection, vol. iv., fifth series.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 On March 19th General Paterson wrote again to General Heath:

" WEST POINT, 19th March, 1782

" SIR

" Yesterday afternoon two of the Prisoners of war were sent under the care of two sentinals for water, after they had filled their keg, one of them pretended he wanted to ease himself, the sentinal conducted him to a proper place, the prisoner watched his opportunity and ran off, the sentinal fired but missed him; the other which was left at the spring knocked the sentinal with him down and made his escape likewise, the sentinals apprehending they would be punished when they returned, remained at the spring until it was dark, which prevented the officer from sending a party after them, as he would have done had he known of it sooner, however, I have three several parties out this day and am in hopes they will come across them.

" I am Sir

" with very great regard

" Your obedient Servant

" JOHN PATERSON.*

" Maj. Gen. HEATH."

On March 26th General Paterson wrote to General Heath to intercede for an officer in distress. This letter shows not only his kindly disposition, but also the care he took to try and see misery relieved.

" WEST POINT Mar. 26 1782.

" SIR,

" Humanity obliges me to intercede with you for the distressed Lieut Greene, he was burned out of Charlestown and lost everything he and his family had, but the cloaths they had on their backs, since that time he has been in the service, and by the industry of his wife and his own prudent savings he has only been able to continue them in existence, he has in every instance (except this one) behaved like a steady, prudent and courageous man and has the universal esteem of his officers—his being so long absent was most certainly occasioned by failure of public payments, he not being able to provide the least article for his family before he received his money. This being the case I think it is a debt we owe to the distressed arising from preserving Virtue in publicly exposing and fighting for the cause of his country to assist him; this appears more so to me when I consider the cruel act of the assembly by which they at once cancel their debt, when

* Massachusetts Historical Society.

they were the sole cause of his disgrace—I therefore wish to be considered as one who is interested for him. 1783

“ I am

“ Sir

“ With great regard,

“ Your obedient Servant

“ JOHN PATERSON.*

“ Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

On March 26th General Paterson wrote to General Heath in respect to Captain Bowman :

“ WEST POINT 26th March 1783.

“ SIR.

“ I communicated my sentiments respecting the restoration of Captain Bowman to Colonel Putnam expecting they would be sent to Head Quarters, but he desires me to write in particular to you on the subject.

“ I have no objection to his being again admitted into the line, being fully sensible his fault arose from a sudden gust of Passion, not from a desire to abuse either Mr Sands or me, or to do injury to the service.

“ I believe he is convinced and will have a particular guard over himself in future

“ I am sir,

“ Your obedt. Servt.

“ JOHN PATERSON.†

“ Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

On March 28th General Heath transmitted Washington's orders to General Paterson :

“ HEADQUARTERS HIGHLANDS Mar 28, 1782

“ 2 oclock P.M.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have this moment received a letter from his Excellency General Washington in which he expresses himself as follows ‘ I am on my way to the north River and shall pass thro’ the Clove the last of this week, I wish you therefore to detach a Captain & 50 men so as that they may be on Fryday night next (that is on the night of the twenty ninth Inst.) at Gallaways or some other farm house near to that place where the new road from Ridgewood forms the Junction with the Smiths, Clove road, it will be best for the party to be supplied with three or four days provisions lest bad weather or accident should prevent my coming forward so soon as I propose, the officer will remain there until he hears from me.

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 " 'P. S. If the party cannot get to the place of destination by Fryday night they should at all events be there by Saturday morning.'

" As it will be impossible to detail a guard from the whole of the troops. You will please to order a Captain and fifty men detached immediately from the Two Brigades on your side let them be furnished with four days provisions and march this evening please give the Captain a copy of the Generals letter as to the place where and time when he must reach it. Please order the guard to be composed of trusty good men and I beg my dear Sir that not a moment may be lost in forwarding them, some one should perfectly know the road and place referred to.

" I am with great regard,

" Dear Sir

" Your humble Servt

" W. HEATH.*

" General PATERSON."

To this letter General Paterson replied :

" WEST POINT 29th March. 1782.†

" SIR

" Your letters of yesterday I received, the party for the Clove marched last evening under the command of Capt. Trotter, the gun-boat is now almost full of water, I should have had it upraised before this time but had no oakum, I have this morning ordered McCarthy to refit her as soon as possible—The bearer is one of the boats crew now going to Kingsferry, with the Instruction and orders you directed.

" I shall pay particular attention to the Forts in this garrison and wish to have your direction respecting the quantity of Provision that will be necessary in each Redoubt Mr. Sands refuses to be accountable for any that shall be kept in them or rather does not choose to take it of the Commissary while there—the upper Redoubts having no place to secure small ammunition they all being very small and a number of the fire places in the Barracks being built in them, it was thought advisable to return the greatest part in before I had the Command, the same reason still exists but if you think it best I will order it returned, I wish also your instructions, how many days Provision will be necessary to be kept at Stoney and Verplanks points—

" I am

" Sir

" With the Highest Esteem

" Your obt. Servt.

" JOHN PATERSON.

" Maj. Gen. HEATH."

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

On April 7th General Paterson was a member of the court-martial to try Major-General McDougall. 1782

On April 7th, the following garrison order was issued:

“HEAD QUARTERS Newburgh Sunday 7th April, 1782.

“As soon as the gun boat is refitted she is to be manned and take a Station in the river opposite the guard at Fort Montgomery. Genl. Paterson will please to have it done, after which no vessel or boat is to pass down the river between sunsetting and rising without permission in writing.” *

On April 8th the following order was issued:

“Three men from each brigade to parade to morrow morning with arms and accoutrements at general Patersons quarters they are to be stationed in the gun boat near fort Montgomery.” †

On April 17th Washington wrote to Major-General Heath:

“HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
April 17, 1782.

“To Major-General HEATH.

“DEAR SIR,—The inclosed list of queries I transmit for your consideration, and beg to have your observations thereon as soon as may be convenient. An early period will be most agreeable, as it is impossible for me to say how soon I may be obliged to make use of them. You will be pleased to communicate the same to Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Paterson, that I may also be favored with their opinions on the subject. Let me add also, Baron De Steuben, who, I believe, is at West Point. I have not yet seen the contract for the moving army, but am told by the gentlemen concerned that the places for the deposit of magazines are to be determined by me, as also what are to be deemed the Dependencies of West Point. That I may be enabled to decide on these two points, I shall be much obliged by your opinion, and that of the general officers above mentioned. In giving your sentiments on the former, many contingencies of the campaign are to be taken into consideration. The latter may be ascertained with precision.

“I am, dear sir, with very great regard,

“Your most obedient servant,

“GO. WASHINGTON.” ‡

On April 22d General Paterson wrote to General Heath:

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Collection, vol. iv., fifth series.

1782

" WEST POINT 22 Apr. 1782.*

" SIR

"The quarter master of this garrison will want for the public works—Boat-wrights—Black smiths—Carpenters and Coopers—for the present I think five of each will be sufficient. It is my opinion that Capt. Buchanan having the collecting and taking up the floating Boats, will want a crew to be ready with him, at least untill they are collected.

" I am

" Sir

" with very great regard

" your obedient Servant

" Maj. Gen. HEATH."

" JOHN PATERSON.

On April 23d Lord Stirling wrote to General Washington :

" FISHKILL, April 23d 1782.

" DEAR SIR :

"I have your letter of yesterday evening accompanying one from General Paterson on the subject of the Contract and Contractor, Comfort Sands. In Consequence of the letter you mention from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to General Heath, I do suppose some order has by this time issued, to which we must conform ourselves in our proceedings, but in whatever mode it is to be conducted, the officers of the army may be assured I shall give them the best assistance in my power in fairly stating their grievances, and in detecting the impositions of the contractor. Whoever is appointed to represent the officers on this occasion, should immediately possess themselves of a copy of the contract for without it they will be groping in the dark. General Heath has one, which I doubt not he will communicate. They should also possess themselves of every fact, wherein the contractor has deviated from the contract, or attempted it. With these materials, I doubt not their case may be fully and fairly stated, and redress of grievances be obtained.

"Be pleased to present my compliments to General Paterson and communicate this to him, in answer to his letter in behalf of the officers.

"I am, with much affection and esteem, your most obedient & most humble servt

" STIRLING." †

On April 23d Major-General Heath ordered from Newburgh :

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† " Writings of Washington," vol. x., pp. 17, 31.

"Brigadier General Paterson will please to order, a crew for one boat from the two Brigades at West Point to assist Captain Buchanan in collecting the floating Boats— 1782

"The crew are to continue on this duty until the 4th of May next when they are to join their respective Corps." *

On April 24th Major-General Heath ordered :

"HIGHLANDS April 24th 1782.*

"Brigadier General Paterson having certified that the following artificers are absolutely necessary to be employed by the Quarter Master at West Point, Viz five Carpenters, five boatwrights, five Coopers, and five blacksmiths, General Paterson will please to furnish them accordingly from the two Brigades at West Point except one caulker from the 9th Mass^{ts} Regiment. The whole to remain with the Quarter Master untill the 15th of May next." †

From the Highlands, May 23d, Major-General Heath ordered :

"The commanding Officers of Brigades will be pleased to direct their respective Quarter Masters with such Fatigue Men as may be necessary to cut and collect the timber to the landings, and Genl Paterson will please to give such orders to the troops at West Point as may be requisite for conveying the timber, &c. to the place where it is wanted, and for completing the business, the whole to be done with all possible Dispatch." ‡

On April 28th, while General Paterson was at New York Huts, his brigade was reviewed by Washington and complimented in general orders.

On May 15th General Paterson wrote to General Heath :

"WEST POINT May 15th 1782.

"SIR

"I beg you will be so oblidging as to give me an order for the Quarter master at Fishkill for sufficient canvass to make a back and bottom for my bed, leather to make a bridle and a sursingle to be charged to

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

‡ American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1782 my account—I shall not by this esteem myself under the least obligation to the quarter master department, as they are indebted to me more than forty times as much.

“ I am, Sir

“ With great esteem

“ Your obed. Servt

“ JOHN PATERSON.*

“ Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

On May 23d General Paterson and all officers commanding brigades were ordered to meet at General Heath's headquarters at 1 P.M. On May 31st, at West Point, the birth of the Dauphin of France was announced to the command with military honors. The orders were as follows :

“The commander-in-chief announces the birth of a Dauphin of France. At 7.30 the *feu-de-joie* will commence with the discharge of thirteen pieces of cannon from the park, succeeded by fire of musketry from the infantry as follows : 2d Massachusetts Brigade, 1st Massachusetts Brigade, 1st Connecticut Brigade, 2d Connecticut Brigade, 10th Massachusetts Regiment, 3d Massachusetts Brigade.”

For the purpose of making the occasion more joyous, Major Villefranche, a French engineer, had been employed with a thousand men about ten days in constructing a colonnade. It was 220 feet long and 80 feet wide. It had 118 pillars, made of the trunks of trees growing in that vicinity. The roof was made of branches intertwined. The ends and sides were open. The middle of each pillar was ornamented with muskets and bayonets, tastefully arranged. The whole interior was decorated with evergreens and flowers and emblematic devices, fleur-de-lis and ornaments significant of the French alliance, and mottoes proposing benediction on the Dauphin, and success and happiness to the two allied nations. The whole army was paraded on the hills on both sides of the river. This arbor was illuminated in the evening. There was a good dinner in the afternoon, and a dance and fireworks in the evening.

On June 8, 1782, and again on June 10th at Newburgh, General Washington complimented the appearance and ma-

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

neuvering of the Massachusetts brigade, and said he "never 1782 saw men in service make a more respectable appearance." On June 17, 1782, the following brigade orders were issued by General McDougall, who had been in command since December, 1781 :

"The Hon. Brigadier-General Paterson having expressed his wish that some honorary mark of distinction should be worn by each non-commissioned officer or private in his brigade who had served in the army of the United States a certain length of time, and has also made a present of material for that purpose, therefore the commandant thinks proper to direct that each non-commissioned officer and private who has served four years in Continental regiments shall be entitled to wear one stripe of white tape on the left sleeve of his regimental coat. This stripe shall extend from seam to seam on the upper part of the sleeve three inches from and parallel with shoulder-seam, so that the tape may form a herring-bone figure."

On June 12th the following table was issued from Newburgh to keep account of the detail of guards for June and July.

"Detail of the Guards kept by the troops at West Point 12 June 1782, & 26 July 1782 *

Guards	C.	S.	S.	C.	D.	F.	privates
Genl. Paterson							

During the period 1782-3 and thereabout many military masonic lodges existed in the Revolutionary army, and in providing necessary conveniences for the troops, at that time in quarters on the Hudson near Newburgh, an assembly-room or hall was built, one of the purposes of which was to serve as a lodge-room for these military lodges. Washington himself ordered the erection of the building, which was called

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1782 "The Temple of Virtue." The American Union Lodge met in this room on the 24th of June, preparatory to celebrating the festival of St. John the Baptist, and proceeded from thence to West Point, where they were joined by Washington Lodge. A procession was then formed at the house of General Paterson, its first master, and both lodges proceeded from thence to the "Colonnade," where a dinner was provided and an oration delivered by Colonel John Brooks, master of Washington Lodge, and afterwards governor of Massachusetts.

On July 9th General Paterson wrote to General Heath :

" WEST POINT 9th July 1782

" SIR.

" The Infantry when on the line find the want of edge tools to cover themselves with bushes to shelter them from the Dews and scorching Sun—I would beg leave to suggest whether a certain number of small Hatchetts to each company would not be convenient, they may be easily carried and can be provided at a very trifling expense to the public If this should meet with your approbation I will take measures to procure as many as you think necessary to a company on this side of the River.

" I am with esteem your

" obedt. Servt.

" JOHN PATERSON.*

" Maj. Gen. HEATH."

On the 22d of July General Paterson desired a furlough :

" WEST POINT 22 July 1782.

" SIR

" My business requires my particular attention for ten or twelve days, I must earnestly beg you to give me leave of absence during that time, if any thing should take place before the time expires I will immediately return to Camp.

" I am with esteem

" Your obedt. Servant

" JOHN PATERSON. †

" Hon. Maj. Gen. HEATH."

To which General Heath replied at once :

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

" HIGHLANDS, July 22nd 1782 1782

" DEAR SIR.

" Yours of this date is handed me—I would gladly consent to your request, but I this instant am cautious of doing it—if the Commander in Chief did not arrive the last night he is expected every hour—immediately on his return he may have some arrangements to make and may disapprove my consenting to any general officer being absent at the moment of his return—as soon as I hear of his return I will lay your request before him, and endeavor to obtain for you the leave of absence you wish—

" I am with great regard

" Dear Sir

" Your obedt Servt.

" W. HEATH.*

" B. Gen. PATERSON "

On July 23^d General Paterson wrote to General Heath :

" WEST POINT 23rd July 1782

" SIR,

" Enclosed is a letter from Major Villefranche to me respecting the Bowers of the Regiment of Artillery—I think the Magazine very much exposed by them, the season is so very hot and dry that the leaves will burn like powder, an instance of it happened yesterday in Col. Sprout's Regiment, his took fire and before it could be stopped, almost the whole of the clothing, tents, arms and accoutrements of one of his companies and part of another were consumed. I wish something might be in orders from you, as part of the artillery do not belong to and do not conceive themselves under my command.

" I am with esteem

" Your Obed't.

" humble Serv't.

" JOHN PATERSON. †

" Hon Maj. Gen. HEATH."

General Heath replied the same day :

" HIGHLANDS July 23rd 1782

" DEAR SIR

" Your favor of this date having a report from the Engineer is handed to me. I have written to Col. Crane to remove the encampment of the Regiment of Artillery immediately to such distance from the works as you the Engineer and he may think safe—I wish your particular attention to the matter and that no Troops be allowed to encamp so near to any of the works or Buildings as to endanger them

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 in case of accident by Fire. This is a matter of Police within your own Jurisdiction and to which all troops must yield obedience as the season is uncommonly dry, and Fort Clinton at this instant like a heap of Combustibles—uncommon precautions are necessary to prevent accident—your engine should be in readiness for instant use—I am with great regard

“ Dear Sir

“ Your obt Servant

“ W. HEATH M. Gen.” *

“ Gen. PATERSON.”

On the 25th General Paterson wrote to General Heath :

“ WEST POINT 25th July 1782

“ Sir,

“ It is thought inconvenient for Capt. Haskell to do the duty of Deputy Adjutant General to the army and Garrison both, and it is wished by the officers in general on this side, to have one in particular appointed for the Garrison—if this should meet your approbation and you would be pleased to appoint Captain Cushing for that purpose while we stay on the Point, you will oblige him who is

“ with esteem

“ Your obed't. Servant

“ JOHN PATERSON. †

“ Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

The extreme necessities of the case caused General Paterson to write to General Heath on the 27th :

“ WEST POINT 27th July 1782

“ SIR.

“ This is the third day since the troops in Garrison have been without meat except a few pounds of mutton delivered to the Regt. mounting Guard yesterday. Such a conduct, if the Contractors are not called to a severe account, will end in our total destruction.

“ I must in the most pressing manner beg that we may have leave to purchase for our immediate relief as has been practised in Jersey and the Contractors be made accountable.

“ The uneasiness of both officers and men have rose to a pitch that nothing will ease but immediate supply : they both look to you as their Father and director at this critical time.

“ I am with esteem

“ Your obed. Servt.

“ JOHN PATERSON. ‡

“ Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

† Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

On the 29th of July General Paterson ordered Captain Haskell under arrest :

“ WEST POINT 29th July 1782.

“ Sir.

“ You are hereby ordered in arrest. 1st for disobedience of orders and neglect of duty, in neglecting and refusing to publish to the Garrison of West Point an order of the Commandant on the 27th & 28th Instants. 2ndly For unofficerlike conduct in requesting a meeting of a number of Field officers at your Marque on the 27th instant and desiring the Commandant of this garrison there, and then and there representing to the Field Officers so assembled the conduct of the Commandant to be ungentlemanly and unofficerlike in a conversation contemptuous and disrespectful to the Commandant, among other things saying that the Commandant had no fixed principle or rule of conduct in command. that when you wished to see him he was straggling about the Garrison, that he was sneaking in his conduct, and that he had neglected to see his own orders put in execution.

“ You will conduct yourself accordingly untill released by proper authority.

“ JOHN PATERSON B. General

“ Commandant.”

“ Captain HASKELL.” *

In June, July, and August General Paterson was still at West Point. On August 29th he was at Newburgh. He had the 2d Massachusetts brigade (left wing), commanded by Major-General Heath. The division was under Major-General Howe. On the 31st of August the Massachusetts brigades and the Highland troops generally moved down by water to Verplanck's Point, on the east side of the river, and remained there until October. General Paterson was brigadier of the day on September 3d, 7th, 11th, 14th, 18th, October 15th and 20th. While there the brigade was put into General Howe's division on the left wing under General Heath. In September and October he was at Verplanck's Point, busily engaged in drilling the troops and bringing them up to a high state of discipline. On October 28th the army broke up camp and went to New Windsor and Newburgh, encamping back of New Windsor, the encampment being called “ the Newburgh

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

1782 encampment" or "the New Windsor cantonment." On December 16th he and General Gates settled disputes about rank in the Connecticut line. General Paterson's brigade was encamped for the winter about one and a half miles west of New Windsor. He commanded the left wing of this encampment.

The following general orders were issued on August 29, 1782:

"Garrison Orders 29th August 1782.

"The Officers of the Second Regiment of Artillery and Corps of Sappers & Miners in this Garrison to form a Garrison Court Martial for the trial of Philip Francis of said Regiment & Peggy Martin, . . . Capt. Moody President, the Officers from the second Regt. one from the Corps of Sappers & Miners are to form the Court.

"JOHN PATERSON, B. Genl" *

In vol. ix., page 129, of the Knox MSS., is the finding of this court-martial, in which Peggy Martin was acquitted. She had been accused of stealing a "Massachusetts State Note of Six Pounds thirteen or fourteen shillings and some odd pence" from Mrs. Brown, wife of James Brown, sutler at Nelson's Point. Peggy was a washwoman about the camp and neighborhood.

On the 2d of October General Washington wrote to the Secretary of War, representing, in plain terms, the distresses of the army, but no particular attention was paid to it at that time:

"HEADQUARTERS, October 2, 1782.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"Painful as the task is to describe the dark side of our affairs, it sometimes becomes a matter of indispensable necessity. Without disguise or palliation, I will inform you candidly of the discontents which at this moment prevail universally throughout the army.

"The evils of which they complain, and which they suppose almost remediless, are the total want of money or the means of existing from one day to another, the heavy debt they have already incurred, the loss of credit, the distress of their families at home, and the prospect of poverty and misery before them. It is vain, sir, to suppose that military men will acquiesce contentedly with bare rations, when those

* Knox MSS., vol. ix., p. 105.

in the civil walks of life, unacquainted with half the hardships they 1782 endure, are regularly paid the emoluments of office. While the human mind is influenced by the same passions and inclinations this cannot be. The military man has the same turn for sociability as a person in civil life. He conceives himself equally called upon to live up to his rank, and pride is hurt when circumstances restrain him. Only conceive then the mortification they must suffer (even the general officers) when they cannot invite a French officer, a visiting friend or a traveling acquaintance, to a better repast than bad whisky (and not always that) and a bit of beef, without vegetables, will afford them !

“ The officers also complain of the hardships which they think might and ought to be remedied without delay ; such as the stopping of promotions when there have been vacancies for a long time, the withholding of commissions from those who are justly entitled to them, and have warrants or certificates of their appointments from the executives of their states ; and particularly the leaving of the compensation for their services in a loose, equivocal state, without ascertaining their claims upon the public or making provisions for the future payment of them.

“ While I premise that no one I have seen or heard of appears opposed to the principle of reducing the army as circumstances may require, yet I can not help fearing the result of the measure in contemplation, under present circumstances, when I see such a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past and of anticipations of the future about to be turned into the world soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and suffering everything that human nature is capable of enduring this side of death ; I repeat it, that when I consider these irritating circumstances, without one thing to soothe their feelings or dispel the gloomy prospects, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious and disturbing nature. On the other hand, could the officers be placed in as good situation as when they came into service, the contention I am persuaded would be, not who should continue in the field, but who should return to private life.

“ I wish not to heighten the shades of the picture so far as the reality would justify me in doing it. I could give anecdotes of patriotism and distress which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed, in the history of mankind. But you may rely upon it, the patience and long suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and that there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. While in the field I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage, but when we retire into winter quarters, unless the storm is previously

1782 dissipated, I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences. It is high time for a peace.

"To you, my dear sir, I need not be more particular in describing my anxiety and the grounds of it. You are too well acquainted, from your own service, with the real sufferings of the army, to require a longer detail. I will therefore only add that, exclusive of the common hardships of a military life, our troops have been and still are obliged to perform more services foreign to their proper duty, without gratuity or reward, than the soldiers of any other army. For example, the immense labor expended in doing the duty of the artificers in erecting fortifications and military works; the fatigue of building for themselves barracks or huts annually, and of cutting and transporting wood for the use of all our forts and garrisons, without any expense whatever to the public.

"Of this letter, which, from the tenor of it, must be considered in some degree of a private nature, you may make such use as you shall think proper, since the principal objects of it are, by displaying the merits, the hardships, the disposition, and critical state of the army, to give information that may eventually be useful, and to convince you with what entire confidence and esteem I am, dear sir, etc." *

The following orders were given on October 30th :

"Left Wing Orders.

"BELKNAP HOUSE Octor 30th 1782.

"Brigadier General Paterson with the Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels Commandant of the Massachusetts Line, are requested to meet at Major General Heath's Quarters, tomorrow 4 o'clock P.M." †

The following orders were issued on November 9th :

"HEAD QUARTERS NEWBURGH 9th Nov. 1782.

"Parole Andover

C Signs { Bath
Cambridge

"Brigadier general Paterson, colonels Graton, and Shepard, will be pleased to meet at general Patersons marque to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, in order to settle a dispute of rank between ensigns Sawyer, and Frye, of the Massachusetts line; they will report their opinion to the commander-in-chief: the parties with their witness's will attend.

"The board will make particular inquiry into the circumstances of Mr Sawyers allegation of Mr Fryes having taken a bounty as a continental soldier after the date of his appointment as an ensign; and report as above." ‡

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† "Life of Manasseh Cutler," vol. i., p. 149.

‡ American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

On November 16th the following notice was sent out: 1782

"The Officers of the Massachusetts Line having a grievance, on the 16th of Nov. 1782 chose the following named to consider the same.

Major General KNOX,
Brig. General PATERSON,
Colonel GREATON,
Colonel CRANE,
Colonel BROOKS,
Lt. Colonel MAXWELL,
Doctor TOWNSEND.

This Committee to meet Nov. 20th 1782." *

On the 17th of October, 1782, the fourth anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender, Cornwallis, at Yorktown, hoisted the white flag. On the 19th, Cornwallis's army, 7247 in number, with 840 seamen with colors furled and the bands playing the tune of the old song, *The World Turned Upside Down*, surrendered. On this day Sir Henry Clinton, having received naval reinforcements, set sail from New York with twenty-five ships of the line and 7000 picked troops. He arrived on the 24th at the mouth of the Chesapeake, too late, as he had been when he attempted to relieve Burgoyne. As in that case, if he had started a little earlier the result would probably have been very different.

The surrender of Cornwallis was a fatal blow to the British. The complete abandonment of their pretensions could be the only result of it, but this prospect was regarded differently by the three parties engaged. The news of it reached London on the 25th of November, and was a great encouragement to the agitators in Ireland, but it resulted in the overthrow of the English ministry. No one but the king thought of pursuing the war, but finding it impossible to gain any support in Parliament, in the bitterest humiliation he consented to the change in the ministry. Lord North is reported to have said that he never told a greater lie in his life than when he announced to Parliament that "his Majesty had been pleased to appoint" them. The king tried to make the peace contingent

* Knox MSS. Papers, vol. x., p. 101. The report is given in full on page 278.

1782 on peace with France, but Parliament declared it to be "unqualified and irrevocable." The king of France heard the news with both surprise and disgust. Marie Antoinette was conciliated by the assurance that the peace was attained on the most advantageous conditions. She was assured that the English, by conceding everything that the Americans had demanded, had *bought* peace rather than made it. By the Americans in general it was received with great joy, but no one foresaw the great country that was to be the result of it. It was not until later that the officers and men of the army realized what different responsibilities they had to face in the new life before them.

In the North they did not have so much cause for rejoicing. The "duty and service" of the army there were inaction and to watch. They did it well, for much that might have happened was prevented by their sharp lookout. Every officer knew that to be assigned a position in the North was to be certain of inaction, but they also knew that it was a post which implied great trust in them, and we now know how well such positions were filled.

On November 18th the board appointed on November 9th reported as follows :

" HEAD QUARTERS NEWBURGH 18th Novr 82.

" The board appointed to settle a dispute of rank between Ensigns Sawyer, and Frye, of the Massachusetts Line, whereof Brigadier general Paterson was president report, that it appears that Mr Frye, was returned and receipted for as a recruit for the town of Andover, but that his being returned was without his knowledge, and his being receipted for was contrary to his consent—It does not appear that he ever enlisted, or took a bounty ; the board are therefore of opinion that Mr Frye, is entitled to his rank from the date of his warrant.

" The commander-in-chief approves the opinion of the board." *

On November 30, 1782, the independence of the colonies was acknowledged by Great Britain by the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace in Paris.

On December 1st the following orders were issued :

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

" HEAD QUARTERS, NEWBURGH 1st Decr 1782. 1782

" Brigadier general Paterson, is appointed to the command of the 1st Mass^{ts} Brigade; the other brigades in that line are to be commanded by the senior colonel in each." *

On December 1st General Paterson wrote to Colonel Putnam in relation to his proposed resignation from the army:

" CAMP NEW WINDSOR, December 1st, 1782.

" DEAR SIR:—

" Your favor of the 25th ultimo, by Colonel Brooks, was duly received, and altho I can conceive the situation and disagreeable circumstances of your family, occasioned by your continuance in the army, yet I cannot but regret your resolutions to retire, and hope that on the receipt of this, with the enclosure, you will alter your determinations.

" Your letters on the subject of retiring have been handed to the Commander in Chief, but as they were not addressed to him (and prior to the receipt of them the resolve of Congress enclosed, arrived) it is impossible that you can be deranged, except by taking the steps pointed out in the resolution, &c. particularly when you are informed that on the 29th ultimo, our friend Colonel Shepard *resigned*, and in a few days proposes to leave camp. This procedure of his, was in consequence of his being disappointed in his expectations of preferment.

" You will be considered an officer in the line until we receive further directions from the Commander in Chief. The sooner you signify your wishes, &c. the better, for it is supposed that if you persist in your first resolutions, that Lt. Colo. Smith, who has gone home, will be called again, to re-assume his former command.

" Colo. Shepard's retiring, by permission of his Excy, you 'll perceive gives Colo. Brooks his regiment *again*—& leaves a vacancy, (unless you return) which cannot be filled, at best, not till after the first January next,—vide the resolve of Congress, date 20th november, 1782.

" I dare say you will find no difficulty in obtaining leave of absence for the winter, as Lt. Colo. Newhall and Major Ashley were both at home the last year.

" General Washington, I suppose, will write you by this conveyance, and Colo. Brooks also.

" I cannot supply you with any intelligence—only the enemy in New York seem to be *very busy*; persons who know more of their movements than me, think an evacuation of that city not far off.

* American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1782 "Our huts, which are allowed on all hands to be the best erected this war, will be ready for the reception of the men in a week.

"I am, dear Colonel, with the most sincere esteem and unalterable regard,

"your friend and humble servant,

"J. PATERSON."

"Colo PUTNAM."

The distress of the army had now become so great, partly from the depreciation of the currency, partly from the want of supplies, partly from the neglect of prompt payment of the officers and soldiers, that in December Gen. Paterson, with others, sent a strong appeal to Congress for a proper relief for the army.

"CANTONMENTS ON THE HUDSON RIVER, December, 1782.

"To the United States in Congress assembled :

"The address and petition of the officers of the Army of the United States Humbly Sheweth

"That we, the officers of the army of the United States, in behalf of ourselves and our brethren the soldiers, beg leave, with all proper deference and respect, freely to state to Congress, the supreme power of the United States, the great distress under which we labour.

"At this period of the war it is with peculiar pain we find ourselves constrained to address your august body, on matters of a pecuniary nature. We have struggled with our difficulties, year after year, under the hopes that each would be the last; but we have been disappointed. We find our embarrassments thicken so fast, and have become so complex, that many of us are unable to go further. In this exigence we apply to Congress for relief as our head and sovereign.

"To prove that our hardships are exceedingly disproportionate to those of any other citizens of America, let a recurrence be had to the paymaster's accounts, for four years past. If to this it should be objected, that the respective States have made settlements and given securities for the pay due, for part of that time, let the present value of those nominal obligations be ascertained by the monied men, and they will be found to be worth little indeed; and yet, trifling as they are, many have been under the sad necessity of parting with them, to prevent their families from actually starving.

"We complain that shadows have been offered to us while the substance has been gleaned by others.

"Our situation compels us to search for the cause of our extreme poverty. The citizens murmur at the greatness of their taxes, and are aston-

ished that no part reaches the army. The numerous demands, which are 1782
between the first collectors and the soldiers, swallow up the whole.

"Our distresses are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear—our property is expended—our private resources are at an end, and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications. We, therefore, most seriously and earnestly beg that a supply of money may be forwarded to the army as soon as possible. The uneasiness of the soldiers for want of pay, is great and dangerous; any further experiments on their patience may have fatal effects.

"The promised subsistence or ration of provisions consisted of certain articles specified in kind and quantity. The ration, without regard, that we can conceive, to the health of the troops, has been frequently altered, as necessity or conveniency suggested, generally losing by the change some part of its substance. On an average, not more than seven or eight tenths have been issued. The retained parts were, for a short time, paid for; but the business became troublesome to those who were to execute it. For this or some other reasons, all regard to the dues, as they respected the soldiers, has been discontinued (now and then a trifling gratuity excepted). As these dues respected the officers, they were compensated during one year, and part of another, by an extra ration; as to the retained rations, the account for several years remains unsettled; there is a large balance due upon it, and a considerable sum for that of forage.

"The clothing was another part of the soldiers' hire. The arrearages on that score, for the year 1777, were paid off in continental money, when the dollar was worth about fourpence; the arrearages for the following years are unliquidated, and we apprehend scarcely thought of but by the army. Whenever there has been a real want of means, any defect in system, or neglect in execution, in the departments of the army, we have invariably been the sufferers, by hunger and nakedness, and by languishing in an hospital.

"We beg leave to urge an immediate adjustment of all dues; that as great a part as possible be paid, and the remainder put on such a footing as will restore cheerfulness to the army, revive confidence in the justice and generosity of its constituents, and contribute to the very desirable effect of re-establishing public credit.

"We are grieved to find that our brethren, who retired from service on half-pay, under the resolution of Congress in 1780, are not only destitute of any effectual provision, but are become the objects of obloquy. Their condition has a very discouraging aspect on us, who must sooner or later retire, and from every consideration of justice, gratitude, and policy, demands attention and redress.

"We regard the act of Congress respecting half-pay, as an honourable and just recompense for several years' hard service, in which the health and fortunes of the officers have been worn down and exhausted. We

1783 see with chagrin the odious point of view in which the citizens of too many of the States endeavour to place the men entitled to it. We hope, for the honour of human nature, that there are none so hardened in the sin of ingratitude, as to deny the justice of the reward. We have reason to believe that the objection generally is against the mode only. To prevent, therefore, any altercation and distinctions which may tend to injure that harmony which we ardently desire may reign throughout the community, we are willing to commute the half-pay pledged, for full pay for a certain number of years, or for a sum in gross, as shall be agreed to by the committee sent with this address. And in this we pray, that the disabled officers and soldiers, with the widows and orphans of those who have expended or may expend their lives in the service of their country, may be fully comprehended. We also beg, that some mode may be pointed out for the eventual payment of those soldiers who are the subjects of the resolution of Congress of the 15th May, 1778.

"To the representation now made, the army have not a doubt that Congress will pay that attention which the serious nature of it requires. It would be criminal in the officers to conceal the general dissatisfaction which prevails, and is gaining ground in the army, from the pressure of evils and injuries, which, in the course of seven long years, have made their condition in many instances wretched. They therefore entreat, that Congress, to convince the army and the world that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of her citizens, will point out a mode for immediate redress.

"H. KNOX, *M. General.*

"JOHN PATERSON, *B. General.*

"J. GREATER, *Colonel.*

"JOHN CRANE, *Colonel.*

"H. MAXWELL, *Lieut. Colonel.*

} On part of the
Massachusetts line.

[Here follows eight other signatures of officers of troops of four other States.]

"MOSES HAZEN, *Brigadier-General,*

"*Cantonments, Hudson River, December, 1782.*" *

On December 9th General Paterson wrote to General Knox concerning the report to Congress :

"DEAR GENERAL,

"I, agreeable to the wishes of the Committee, requested Capt. Pemberton to transcribe the address,† but he observed that hurry of

* From Journals of Congress, April, 1783, vol. viii., p. 167, Philadelphia, 1800.

† The "address" referred to above is the one given on p. 281-2.

business prevented him—I then forwarded it to Col. Cortlandt for 1782 that purpose and have repeatedly sent for it, but in vain he not yet being able to procure a fair transcript, as appears by his letter enclosed. In the interim I transmit the former copy, and as soon as I can procure the other and have it signed, I will forward it to you with the utmost expedition.

“It is not owing to any neglect on my part that this business has not been more forward, for I have exerted myself as much as possible.

“JOHN PATERSON.

“CAMP, Dec. 9. 1782.” *

On December 13th General Paterson received from General Knox the report to Congress :

“CAMP NEW WINDSOR, Dec. 18 1782.

“DEAR GENERAL, Your polite letter accompanying the address to Congress per Serjt Day, I have received and shall immediately comply with your request in having it signed by the residue of the gentlemen Committee, and then hand it to Col. Brooks who repairs to the point to morrow or next day. Your other requests I shall pay a proper attention to and am very sincerely

“Your friend and servant,

“J. PATERSON.

“Maj. Gen. KNOX.” †

On December 21st the following staff officers are reported as absent: Captains Cushing, North, Haskell, Lieutenants Cole, Cogswell, Trowbridge, Bowles, Davis, Haskell, Egles-ton, Walker, Tucker, Nason, Bill, Reab.

On December 23, 1782, the following orders were issued in regard to General Paterson's rations :

“Brig. Gen. Paterson, his extra allowance as Commander at West Point—from 18th Jan'y last to 1 April following, by warrant from Gen. Lincoln 166 = 409.42.

“Subsistence for himself and servants from 1 Jan'y to 30 June 1782 = 182— $\frac{1}{4}$.”

The rations of the general officers prior to January 1, 1782, were permitted to be drawn by them unlimitedly, and where the Commander-in-Chief granted warrants in their favor for

* Historico-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.

† Historico-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.

1782 extra pay as commanding officers in separate departments, he never caused to be deducted any rations received.

In the fall of 1782 the main American army was moved to the wooded hills south of Newburgh. The organization of the army while encamped there was as follows :

The main army was divided into two wings, each of which was subdivided into two divisions, which in turn were subdivided into brigades, composed of several regiments each.

The right wing, under Major-General Gates, consisted of two divisions, the first division under Major-General McDougall, and the second under Major-General St. Clair. Each division was composed of two brigades.

The left wing, under Major-General Heath, consisted of two divisions, the first division under Major-General Lord Sterling, and the second under Major-General Howe.

The second division of the left wing was composed of the first brigade under General Paterson, and the second brigade under Colonel Greaton.

They had little to do, except what pertains to the daily exercise of a body of men whose organization and discipline, of necessity, were to be kept in a perfect condition. They had, notwithstanding, so much leisure that they were often chiefly occupied in discussing among themselves their real wrongs, which finally found a vent in an address to Congress, which was sent by a select committee, and awakened a debate which showed the weakness of the victorious colonies, not yet made into a union of States.

General Paterson's brigade on January, 1783, was organized as follows :

CONTINENTAL BRIGADE UNDER GENERAL PATERSON, JAN.—JUNE, 1788.

Brig.-Gen. John Paterson, Commanding First Massachusetts Brigade.

STAFF : { *Brigade-Major* : Capt. Nathaniel Cushman.
 { *Aide-de-Camp* : Lieut. Edward Phelan.
 { *Chaplain* : Rev. John Barnett.

REGIMENTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE.

First Regiment.

Col. Joseph Vose.
Lt.-Col. Elijah Vose.
Maj. Joseph Pettingill.

Fourth Regiment.

Col. Henry Jackson.
Lt.-Col. Ezra Newhall.
Maj. Nathan Rice.

Seventh Regiment.

Col. John Brooks.
Maj. Billy Porter.
Maj. Lemuel Prescott.

NOTE.—On January 1, 1788, the army was reduced and again reorganized. General Paterson's brigade was made up as above. It was encamped until June near Newburgh. In June a general disbandment occurred and the few Massachusetts troops left were differently brigaded.

1788 The following staff officers were reported as absent on leave * from January to July :

On 4th Jan. 1788. Capts. Cushing, North, Haskell, Lieuts. Cole, Cogswell, Trowbridge, Bowles, Davis, Haskell, Egleston, Williams, Tucker, 2 Mass. Regt. Nason, Reab & Condy.

On 11th Jan. 1788. Capts. North, Haskell, Lieuts. Cogswell, Cole, Trowbridge, Bowles, Haskell, Davis, Egleston, Williams, Tucker, Nason, Reab.

18th Jan. 1788. Capts. Haskell, North, Lieuts. Cogswell, Trowbridge, Bowles, Haskell, Davis, Egleston, Tucker, Williams, Condy, Nason, Reab, Cushing, Gamt, Freeman, Sawyer.

25th Jan. 1788. Capts. North, Haskell, Cushing, Lieuts. Cogswell, Trowbridge, Bowles, Haskell, Davis, Egleston, Tucker, Williams, Condy, Nason, Reab.

31st Jan. 1788. Capts. Cushing, North, Haskell, Lieuts. Cogswell, Trowbridge, Bowles, Haskell, Davis, Egleston, Tucker, Williams, Nason, Reab, Condy.

8th Feb. 1788. Lieut. Bowles, Haskell, Davis, Egleston, Tucker, Williams, Nason, Reab, Condy.

On 15 Feb. 1788—Capts. Cushing, North, Haskell, Lieuts. Cogswell, Trowbridge, Bowles, Davis, Haskell, Egleston, Tucker, Williams, Nason, Condy, Reab.

On 22 Feb. 1788. Capts. Cushing, North, Haskell, Lieuts. Cogswell, Bowles, Davis, Haskell, Egleston, Williams, Tucker, Nason, Condy, Reab.

On 1st March, 1788. Capts. Cushing, North, Haskell, 4th Regt. Lieuts. Cogswell, Bowles, Davis, Haskell, 7th Regt. Egleston, Williams, Tucker, Nason, Condy, Reab.

On 8th March, 1788. Capts. Cushing, North, Haskell, Lieuts. Cogswell, Bowles, Davis, Haskell, Egleston, Williams, Tucker, Nason, Condy, Reab.

On 15th March, 1788. Capts. Cushing, North, Haskell, Lieuts. Cogswell, Bowles, Davis, Haskell, Egleston, Williams, Tucker, Nason, Condy, Reab.

22d Mch. ditto.

29th " ditto.

5th Apr. ditto. added Lieut. Phelan's name.

12th April ditto.

19th April ditto. added Lieut. Trowbridge

26th April ditto

3d May ditto

10th May ditto

* Sewal's Diary, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

17th May	ditto	1783
24th May	ditto	
31st May	ditto	
7th June	ditto	
14th June	ditto	
21st June—Capt. Cushing, Lieuts. Castaing, Bowles, Ensign Stafford, Lieuts. Egleston, Nason, Clapp.		

On March 31st the following notice was given relating to the committee sent to Congress in January :

“ Left Wing Orders by B. Genl Paterson, March 31st 1783.

“ The Commandants of Regiments in the Massachusetts Line are desired to assemble on Wednesday next ten o'clock A.M. at the public building, to consider the bill of expenses incurred by their committee of the line who were sent to Boston the last fall—and every other matter which may be necessary respecting their late mission.” *

On February 26th and on the 2d of April he signs himself “senior officer of the Massachusetts line.”

In March he signs himself “commander of the left wing of Newburgh cantonment.”

“ CANTONMENTS AMERICAN ARMY,

“ NEW WINDSOR, April 2, 1783.

“ SIR : A vacancy for a majority happened for Captain John Burnam of the Massachusetts Line on the 7th January last, by the promotion of Colonel Greateon, therefore I request your Excellency would be pleased to issue him a Warrant agreeable to transmit it hence as soon as may be.

“ I am with respectful sentiments of esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant

“ JOHN PATERSON, B. Genl.

“ His Excellency “ Senior officer Mass^as Line.”

“ GOVERNOR HANCOCK.” †

“ HEAD QUARTERS, NEWBURGH 4th April 1783.

“ Brigade Orders.

“ Brigadier General Paterson, directs that two Smiths and one Collier be detailed from the brigade, for the purpose of executing the work thereof, and are to be considered on stated duty ; and that no order is to be considered as sufficient for them to work, unless signed by the

* Sewal's Diary, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† Captain Cushing's Orderly Book, brigade of General John Paterson, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

1788 commandant or Brigade Qr Master that there be a report made weekly to the commandant every Saturday afternoon, of what work has been done in the course of the week, by whose order, and for whom—The Q. Mr of Brigade will please to point out the names of the men he may want for the purpose afore mentioned, and the Brigade Major will detail them accordingly."

On April 19th the preliminary treaty of peace was proclaimed to the army at Newburgh. The following orders were issued for brigadiers of the day from April to June from the headquarters at Newburgh.

		22 nd April 83.
For the day tomorrow	{ B. Genl Paterson B. Q. M. 2 nd Massetts	
		May 14, 1783.
For the day tomorrow	{ B. Genl Paterson B. Q. M. 1 st Massetts	
		May 20, 1783.
For the day tomorrow	{ B. Genl Paterson B. Q. M. 1 st Massetts Brigade	
		June 8, 1783.
For the day tomorrow	{ B. G. Paterson B. Q. M. 3 ^d Massetts Brigade.*	

General Paterson's brigade was organized as follows :

* *Ibid.*

CONTINENTAL BRIGADE UNDER GENERAL PATERSON, JUNE—DEC., 1788.

Brig.-Gen. John Paterson, Commanding First Massachusetts Brigade.

STAFF : { *Brig.-Major* : Nathaniel Cushman, Capt.
 Aide-de-Camp : Lieut. Edward Phelan.
 Chaplain : (probably) Rev. John Barnett.

REGIMENTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE.

First Regiment.

Col. Joseph Vose.

Lt.-Col. Elijah Vose.

Maj. Joseph Pettingill.

Second Regiment.

Col. Ebenezer Sprout.

Maj. Caleb Gibbs.

Maj. Robert Oliver.

NOTE.—This was the last command of the old Revolutionary army. A small force was continued on a new basis at West Point. General Paterson's last superior officer was General Knox.

1788 In March, 1783, Lieutenant Phelan was appointed his aide-de-camp, to take effect from June, 1783. General Paterson was brigadier of the day on April 17th and 26th, May 1st, 5th, 9th, 26th, and June 1st, 5th, and 17th. The Massachusetts troops and the rest of the garrison were reviewed and complimented by General Washington. This was the last winter encampment of the Revolutionary army. They remained here until the 20th of June, when the army was mustered out, but the Massachusetts troops remained in service. They were divided into brigades. On June 20th the following order was issued from Newburgh:

"Brigadier-General Paterson will take command of the 1st Massachusetts brigade and Brigadier Groaton of the 2d. These troops will march to-morrow to West Point for accurate inspection."

General Groaton had been promoted on January 7th. The post was at that time in command of Major-General Knox. By the orders of the Secretary of War the men were employed in building arsenals and magazines at that post.

On June 15th General Paterson wrote to General Heath:

"HUTTS 15th June 1783

"SIR.

"The Hutts are now divided to the several Regiments, they wait your orders, when they will move into them immediately.

"I think at ten o'clock to-morrow will be a proper time, the 2nd Regt. will then have the guards, who have not to move and by that time the sixth will be relieved.

"As the brigades are now broke up by this reform, I wish to know whether I have any command, if I have, what it is, I shall not presume to give any directions, until I am informed and therefore make my application to you as commanding officer of the Mass. line.

"I am with esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"JOHN PATERSON B. Genl.

"Maj. Gen. HEATH."*

On the 16th of June, the officers of the army sent the following petition to Congress. General Paterson was among the signers.

* Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

"To His Excellency, the President and Honorable Delegates of the 1788 United States of America, in Congress assembled.

"The Petition of the Subscribers, Officers in the Continental Line of the Army, humbly sheweth :

"That, by a Resolution of the Honorable Congress, passed September 20th, 1778, and other subsequent resolves, the officers, (and soldiers engaged for the War) of the American Army who shall continue in service till the establishment of Peace, or, in case of their dying in service, their heirs are entitled to receive certain Grants of Lands, according to their several grades, to be procured for them at the expense of the United States.

"That your petitioners are informed that that tract of country, bounded north on Lake Erie, east on Pennsylvania, south-east and south on the river Ohio, west on a line beginning at that part of the Ohio which lies twenty-four miles west of the river Scioto, thence running north on a meridian line till it intersects with the river Miami, which falls into Lake Erie, thence down the middle of that river to the lake, is a tract of country not claimed as the property of or in the jurisdiction of any particular state in the Union.

"That this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality, and situation such as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a Tract or Territory suitable to form a distinct Government (or Colony of the United States) in time to be admitted one of the confederated States of America.

"Wherefore your petitioners pray that, whenever the Honorable Congress shall be pleased to procure the aforesaid lands of the natives, they will make provision for the location and survey of the lands to which we are entitled within the aforesaid District, and also for all Officers and Soldiers who wish to take up their lands in that quarter.

"That provision also be made for a further grant of lands, to such of the Army as wish to become adventurers in the new Government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchase, for public securities, as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequence to the American Empire.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound shall ever pray.

"Signed by two-hundred and eighty-eight officers of the Continental line of the army.

"June 16, 1783." *

This letter alludes to what later became the "Ohio scheme."

On June 20, 1783, the troops remaining in the cantonment were ordered to march on Monday morning, the 23d, at 5

* "Life of Manasseh Cutler," vol. i., p. 150.

1783 o'clock, the senior brigadier on the Massachusetts line to conduct the column over Storm King to West Point. All the general officers who had been doing duty in camp at Newburgh were given leave of absence, except Major-General Knox, who had assumed command at West Point, and Brigadiers-General Paterson and Greaton, who served under him. The soldiers viewed the disbanding of the army with forebodings. For a long time neither officers nor privates had received any pay, for the treasury was empty. Washington said that they had suffered everything that human nature is capable of suffering outside of death, and he could not avoid apprehending a train of very serious evils. In the latter part of 1782 a committee from the army had visited Congress and returned with a series of most unsatisfactory resolutions passed by that body. Feeble in resources, they made no definite promises of present relief or future justice. This gave rise to the celebrated "Newburgh letters," of which two were issued anonymously and written with great power and ability. The first letter, dated Saturday, March 8, 1783, advised the army to appeal from the justice to the fears of the government, make demonstrations of their power, and so obtain justice. It began by a recital of their wrongs, of the alleged insults heaped upon them by Congress, of its cold neglect and their own forbearance and patience, and of their self-sacrifice and patriotism.

"If this," the letter says, "be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary to the protection of your country, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink and your strength dissipate by division, when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides and no remaining mark of your military distinction left you but your infirmities and scars? Can you consent to retire from the field and grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency and owe the remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of tories, the scorn of whigs, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten."

Growing bold in his indignation, the author assails Wash-

ington himself, and exclaims, "Suspect the man who would 1788 advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let nothing but death separate you from your arms."

With this address was circulated privately a notification of a meeting of officers on the following Tuesday.

In general orders, March 11th, Washington expressed disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings, and at the same time requested the general and field officers and one officer from each company and a proper representation of the staff of the army to assemble at 12 o'clock on the following Saturday, to hear the report of the committee of the army to Congress. This was a master stroke and assured him the control of the meeting and the selection of the number and rank of the officers to compose it. On the appearance of this order, the writer of the anonymous address issued another, more subdued in tone, in which he sought to give the impression that Washington approved of the scheme.

The meeting was held, General Gates presiding, deep solemnity pervading the assemblage. Amid the most profound silence the commander commenced reading the address he had prepared, so compact in form, so clear in expression, so dignified and patriotic, so mild and yet so severe, and so important to the well-being of the republic.

"Gentlemen," he said, "by an anonymous summons an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide."

Pausing for a moment, he drew out his spectacles, carefully wiped and adjusted them, and while doing so remarked: "These eyes, my friends, have grown dim, and these locks white, in the service; yet I have never doubted the justice of my country."

This simple remark under the circumstances had a powerful effect upon the assemblage. He concluded his address with these memorable words:

1788 "Let me adjure you in the name of the common country, as you value your own sacred honor and as you respect the rights of humanity and the national character of America, to express the utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes under any specious pretense to overturn the liberties of our country, who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord and drench our rising empire in blood. By thus determining and thus acting, you will pursue the plain, direct road to the attainment of your wishes, you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice, and you will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the most complicated surroundings, and you will by the dignity of your conduct afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human effort is capable of attaining.'"

Then he descended from the platform and walked out of the building, leaving the officers to discuss the matter unrestrained by his presence. They passed resolutions unanimously expressing confidence in their chief and in Congress, and their determination to bear with patience their grievances until they should be redressed.

More than forty years elapsed before it was discovered that the writer of these addresses was Major John Armstrong, one of General Gates's aides, who after the war held civil offices of distinction in our government.

General Paterson, in expectation of immediately going to West Point, wrote to General Knox on the 21st the letter given below.

"To Major-General KNOX :

"SIR : I have directed my Quarter Master to proceed with all possible dispatch to West Point, & receive your instructions where the troops are to be encamped : I could wish that they might occupy the ground which I referred to when you was at the public building on Thursday last, so far as is convenient, at least.

"The troops will leave this ground on Monday morning next, & make the best of their way to the Point.

"I have desired the Q. Master to apply to you for instructions what steps he must take to procure me agreeable Quarters ; I prefer a house

to myself, being more satisfactory than with company. Your politeness in this matter will much oblige, Sir, 1788

"Your most obedient &

"Humble servant

"JOHN PATERSON.

MASSACHUSETTS HUTTS, 21st June, 1788." *

To this letter General Knox replied :

"WEST POINT, 22 June 1788.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received your favor of this date. I shall have no objections to your brigade occupying the ground around the red house and your having your quarters in it. There is some little embarrassment concerning the arrangement of quarters which will be removed next week as far as respects Col. Butler—Capt. Clift has his wife with him and will be under the necessity of residing in one of the rooms at present. . . .

"As it will be necessary that one regt. should be on Constitution Island I wish you and General Greateon would agree which it shall be—The regiment which shall be upon the Island will have the best accommodations—If you and Genl Greateon will come down tomorrow or early next day all the necessary arrangements could be made previous to the arrival of the troops

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your humble Servant,

"Gen. PATERSON." †

"H. KNOX.

On the 23d of June General Knox notified General Washington of General Paterson's arrival at West Point :

"WEST POINT 23 June 1788

"SIR,

"I take the liberty just to inform your Excellency that the brigades of Generals Paterson and Greateons arrived at nine o'clock at this post in good order. The first brigade are encamped upon the plain about the red house. The 2^d regiment of the 2^d brigade are gone into the old barracks and into the barracks at Fort Clinton. The 4 Regt are encamped where the plains are [unintelligible]. . . . It is proposed to place the New Hampshire troops upon Constitution Island. I hope this arrangement will be agreeable to your Excellency's ideas.

"I have the honor etc

"His Excellency

"H. KNOX.

"Gen'l WASHINGTON" ‡

* From the collection of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of Boston.

† Historico-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.

‡ Knox Manuscripts, vol. xii., p. 171.

1783 The news that riots had broken out among the dissatisfied Pennsylvania troops and that Congress had been actually surrounded and threatened by less than 300 men, and had felt obliged to leave Philadelphia to meet in Princeton, reached Washington at Newburgh on the 24th of June. He immediately altered his previous orders, and now ordered Major-General Howe to go at once to Philadelphia with 1500 men. General Paterson and his brigade were ordered to form part of these troops:

“ WEST POINT, June 24th, 1783.

“ Gen. Patersons brigade & one Regt are to be ready to march to-morrow morning, to move to King's Ferry, by water. Gen Paterson will give returns. Gen Paterson will order a subaltern, two sergeants & 24 rank & file to relieve posts 3 & 4. Brigade orders from Gen Paterson commanding Hospital subjects to be sent to Philadelphia.” *

Regarding these orders General Knox replied to General Paterson :

“ WEST POINT, 8 o'clock P.M.
June 25, 1783.

“ DEAR GENERAL,

“ I have just received a note from headquarters dated five o'clock this afternoon which states that the necessity still exists for the troops to press on—I hope you will be able to reach Ringwood to-morrow night. I have thought it necessary to forward you this note least the doubt we were in to-day should in any degree retard your march in the morning.

“ I am, Dr Sir

“ Your hble Servt.

“ H. KNOX.

“ Gen. PATERSON.” †

On the 26th of June General Paterson wrote to General Knox :

“ REYNOLD'S HOUSE, SMITH'S CLOVE

“ Thursday morning, June 26, 1783.

“ DEAR GENERAL,

“ Your favor of last evening reached me this morning. I had arrived about ten minutes prior to the arrival of your Letter—Your injunctions relative to my pressing on shall meet with all due notice—I

* Garrison Orders, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† Historico-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.

shall make no unnecessary delay, and not remain longer on this ground than giving sufficient time for the soldiery to cook the fresh provisions they have on hand, to prevent its being lost.—the weather we find exceedingly warm, and I am sorry to add that a *number* of the men are destitute of Shoes, which I fear will impede the march, unless some steps are devised to supply them.

"If possible, you may depend on my seeing Ringwood this evening.—and be assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part to facilitate the wishes of Congress, my General, and yourself.

"I am, Dear sir, with esteem & respect

"Your humble servant

"JOHN PATERSON, B. Genl"

"7 o'clock, A. M."

The same day General Knox sends the shoes :

"DEAR SIR,

"I send you three hundred pairs of shoes, which from the precautions used, I hope will reach your troops to morrow night. Please to let your clothiers receipt for them regimentally—As soon as the other companies arrive they will be ordered to follow you with all possible despatch.

"I am dear Sir,

"Your Affectionate

"H. KNOX."

"WEST POINT

"26 June 3 o'clock

"Gen. PATERSON." *

In a letter "to the President of Congress," dated "Head-quarters, Newburg, evening, 24 June, 1783," Washington writes: "The brigadiers now remaining with the army are Paterson, Huntington, and Greateon, besides the adjutant-general." †

On receiving these orders General Paterson started at once. He went to King's Ferry with the 1st, 2d, and 3d Massachusetts regiments to go by water to Philadelphia to put down the mutiny, and presided over the court-martial to punish the offenders. On July 16th the court-martial went

* *Letters of Washington*, vol. x., p. 273.

† Historico-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.

1788 into session; it was postponed until further orders on September 4th. On July 8th, at Philadelphia, General Paterson was ordered to fix on a convenient place for the people coming to market in camp to dispose of their produce. The 1st regiment was ordered as his personal guard.

On July 10th General Howe orders:

“PHILADELPHIA 10th, July 1783.

“The Reverend Doctor Evens, is appointed Chaplain to the 1st Mass^{ts} Brigade, and is to be respected accordingly. Divine Service will be performed by him on Sunday next. General Paterson, and colonel Sprout will fix upon some place for this purpose at or near the Encampment, where the Line will attend at four oclock in the afternoon of that day.” *

“The 1st Regiment gives Genl Paterson guard July 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, and August 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, and 26.

“The 3rd. Regiment gives Genl Paterson guard July 17, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31 and August 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24. †

On July 15th a general court-martial, of which General Paterson was to be president, was ordered the next day. On August 22, 1783, Major-General Howe ordered:

“Major Gibbs will march with the 2d Regiment as early tomorrow as possible—he will attend for Orders this afternoon at General Howe’s quarters.

“As the camp when the Troops under marching orders move on will be more contracted, it will become requisite to reduce the guards, General Paterson therefore is requested with the Officer of the day to examine the ground and to report tomorrow to General Howe what number of guards will be necessary.” †

On August 24th he was ordered to determine the number of guards necessary for each regiment. On September 21st it was ordered, “for the execution of Sergeants Naggie and Morrison of the Pennsylvania line, General Paterson shall

* Captain Cushing’s Orderly Books, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

appoint the place and give all the necessary directions." 1788
 These men were among the mutineers sentenced by the court-martial. They were pardoned before the execution. On September 25, 1783, General Howe, who was in command, complimented General Paterson's troops as they were about to leave on the next day for West Point. He returned to West Point in October.

The following staff officers are reported as absent in October: "West Point 18th Oct. 1783. Capts. Cushing, Lieut. Bowles, Ensign Stafford, Lieuts. Egleston, Nelson, Nason Clapp, Castaing. On the 25th Oct. Capt. Cushing, Lieuts. Castaing, Bowles, Ensign Stafford, Lieuts. Egleston, Nelson, Nason, Clap." *

On October 23d General Knox wrote to General Paterson:

"WEST POINT, 28rd October 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"I beg that you would assemble the commanding officers of the four Massachusetts regiments, and direct them that they draw lots to decide which regiment shall occupy the Connecticut huts, on the other side of the river for winter quarters—

"It is necessary that this should be done this day.

"I am,

"Dear Sir,

"Your Humble Servt,

"H. KNOX." †

"Gen. PATERSON."

It thus appears that General Paterson was constantly in the Highlands from the winter of 1778–79 until 1783, and that he frequently commanded at West Point. There were but four generals who were closely identified with West Point during the Revolution—leaving Arnold out of the question, whose connection was short and inglorious. The first was General Parsons, who commanded in the winter of 1777–78, and who was the first commander there. The second was General Pater-

* *Ibid.*

† Historico-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.

1783 son, who was in sole command during the winters of 1778-79, 1779-80. During the winter of 1780-81 he was under General Heath, and 1781-82, under McDougall, four seasons. This was much longer than any other general or garrison commander. He was also at the "Point" in the summer and fall of 1783, before he went to Philadelphia, and after his return. The third was General McDougall, who had general command, and was actual commandant at times, as during the fall and winter of 1781-82. The fourth was General Heath, who was there for three seasons. General Knox was only in charge during the time that the army was being disbanded, or from June to December, 1783. General Paterson was at West Point almost continuously from December 18, 1778, to July, 1780, more than a year and a half. The Massachusetts troops which he commanded formed the garrison either in whole or in part during these four seasons. He was never away except for very short periods, and then generally on duty elsewhere. West Point was his station. From July to December, 1780, he was with the main army under Washington moving about on the west side of the river at Dobbs' Ferry, Orangetown, Liberty Pole, Totoway, etc., then back to West Point to remain until August, 1781, when he was with the army on the east side of the river a short time under Washington, until the Commander-in-Chief went to Yorktown, and then under General Heath, when he went back again to West Point and stayed there until the summer of 1782. After this date the whole army was under Washington's personal command, and was collected there simply to keep itself in form, and had a fine camp at Verplanck's Point. It then crossed up to New Windsor and wintered there for the last time, 1782-83, West Point being garrisoned at that time by a few troops who could winter in its huts. A general at that time was no longer needed there.

The treaty of peace was signed in Paris on January 20, 1783. It arrived in Philadelphia on March 23d and was proclaimed on April 17th. Two days later, April 19th, was the

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxxix., p. 226.

anniversary of the battle of Lexington, eight years previously. 1783
And so the struggle for freedom resulted, after eight years of war, within a day or two of the anniversary of the day it commenced, in the complete independence of the colonies and the establishment of a free government, *and on the anniversary of the day when John Paterson ordered his men to be ready to march at sunrise the next morning.*

The war closed officially on the 18th of April, 1783. The proclamation closing it was ordered to be read the next day at the head of every regiment and corps of the army, after which the chaplains with the several brigades were ordered to render thanks to Almighty God for the blessing of peace and for all His mercies. The religious spirit which had so characterized every act of the foundation of this country was still the prominent spirit of those days. In this proclamation General Washington made a prophecy which has become true in a much more general way than he could possibly have expected. His proclamation closes with these words:

"Happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter who have contributed anything, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous fabric of freedom and empire on the broad basis of independency, who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature and of establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions."

Orders were at once issued by the Secretary of War for the disbanding of the army, which was to be accomplished gradually. It took place by degrees during the summer. The general muster out of the army took place on June 13th. Only a few regiments were retained in service. On June 23d the camp at Newburgh broke up and moved to West Point, where General Knox now commanded, as that was the only position of importance in that quarter necessary to be held. When peace was formally concluded, the rest of the army was disbanded by proclamation on November 2d, 1783.

On the morning of November 3, 1783, the army which had

1783 been encamped at Newburgh and New Windsor assembled officially for the last time. At the head of each regiment, the proclamation of Congress and the formal orders of Washington were read and the last word of command passed along the lines. To those of us who look back upon it merely as an event, it seems that it would have been a most joyful occasion; but it was not so to the ordinary soldier of that time. The older men, who as colonists, had felt the oppressions of the home government, had entered the war with the determination to free themselves from a yoke that had been very galling to them. They had expected the struggle to be a short one, and the combats decisive in their favor. The younger men had followed the example of their elders with great enthusiasm. Both were equally determined, and certain that the only possible result would be the success of their cause, but no one gave any careful thought as to what the consequences to themselves would be in case of victory. The word sounded pleasantly in their ears, and they had always associated it with prosperity. Most of the thoughtful ones had considered the case of their being taken prisoners, of the confiscation of their property, if they had any, of severe suffering, sickness, and even death; but they were now to face the attainment of the object for which they had so long fought, and had arrived at it under circumstances so very different from what they had anticipated, that while peace was a source of great rejoicing to the country, to the soldier, with few exceptions, it brought with it a train of circumstances, which, for the time being, were misfortunes to the individual, and which were likely to continue until the country could readjust itself to the occupations of peace.

The army as a whole had been neglected by Congress, the authority which they themselves had set up. Their pay had been withheld, they had suffered from both hunger and cold, but there was at least some one besides themselves responsible for their misfortunes. The war, however, had been a long one, and every officer and soldier had become so accustomed to the varying conditions of military life that the older ones had to

a large extent forgotten the occupations of peace, while many of the younger ones had never learned them. The disbanding of the army, therefore, presented to them no pleasant prospect. Many of them had apparently little future before them. Many of them had lost all that they had during the war, and the younger ones had been entirely unable to lay up anything for the future. Many of those who bade each other good-by on that day had been for months companions in the same tent and were now parting, probably never to see each other again. They were most of them, as individuals, in a condition a little worse than they would have been had the war never occurred. Their military knowledge had been learned in the school of adversity, and was now, in times of coming peace, worse than useless. To the officers who had joined the Society of the Cincinnati, which was at first so much suspected, their badge, if they wore it, was a reason for them to be mistrusted. Every one had to face the world and its stern demands under conditions not quite so favorable as they would have done eight years before. It was, therefore, not a moment for joy, but one of real sorrow, not for the country, but for themselves. The way out of it did not appear plain to them, and perhaps would not have been plain at all had it not been that every step in the organization and carrying out of this war had been taken deliberately, and that all the councils had been carried on in the strictest accord with parliamentary rules. It appeared for some time as if there was nothing before them but to become the prey of the speculators who on all such occasions are ready to trade upon the misfortunes or even the lives of those who fall into their clutches. But from this melancholy condition, which was so serious to many an individual, the country itself rose after a very short interval to a condition of great prosperity.

The British who had occupied New York for so long a time, evacuated it on November 25th, and the Americans marched in as they marched out, on the same day. The four Massachusetts regiments which General Pater-son had commanded were encamped in the Highlands and

1783 were retained until December, 1783, when they and he retired together to private life. The last of the British soldiers left New York on November 25th. Washington and Governor Clinton entered the city the same day. More than twenty thousand loyalists left their homes, after the British went, to settle in various countries near the United States. A few returned to England, but many who could not go remained to die in the belief that the country, now separated from England, could never become anything but a feeble state, and that the war from its commencement had been a mistake. On September 30th, 1783, General Paterson was commissioned as a major-general. He left the army in December, 1788, having remained in the service continually since his appointment as colonel. He was one of the last generals to leave the army. On his retirement he was granted half-pay for life. When he left Lenox that Saturday morning of 1775 at sunrise the thirteen colonies were bounded on the west by the Alleghanies; when he resigned his commission and returned to that town the United States was bounded on the west by the Mississippi.

When the war was over, Congress, which had never fully commanded the confidence of the people, seemed to have lost it entirely. It had during the war been in many cases controlled, or at least led, by intriguers. It had had no settled policy. It had been in favor of compromises when to make them would have been ruinous. It had listened gravely at times to calumniators of Washington, but had not acted on their suggestions, because the simple greatness of the man did not allow it. It had neglected both the navy and the army. The former made no complaints. The gains made by that exceedingly irregular arm of the service had been very large; they made no complaints because they did not wish either criticism or investigation. The army had never been properly supported. It had no perquisites, it made no gains. It did the hard fighting and endured the suffering like heroes, never like mere soldiers for pay. When they had been paid at all, it was in a depreciated currency, which eventually became

worthless. The whole army felt that they had suffered as great wrong from Congress and from their own States or Provinces as the colonies had ever suffered from England. They had fought eight years to gain redress from British wrongs, and at the end of it were greater sufferers than they had been at the commencement of the war. There were influential people who supported the formation of an organized movement to compel Congress to fulfill its broken promises. There were threatenings of civil war. Congress made further promises, which it did not and could not fulfill. Bitter feelings were openly displayed in public meetings in New England. No one was satisfied; everywhere there were local and personal jealousies. The seed of discontent was germinating, but was prevented by wise counsel from growing into civil war, as it afterward did in Massachusetts.

The cost of the war had been, on an average, twenty millions of dollars a year. The country had received from France and Spain, as gifts, two and a half millions. It had borrowed seven millions from France, two millions from Holland, and one and a half millions from Spain. The public debt was between nine and ten millions. All the rest of the obligations of the country had faded out in the depreciation of the paper issued by Congress. Of the total debt, Congress had spent about two thirds and the States one third. The arrearages of interest on the public debt had been forgiven by the countries who held the obligations. An arrangement was made with them that the principal was to be repaid in yearly installments, commencing three years after peace was concluded. The difference had been entirely lost. This was the contribution which the people had made. They had given both their blood and their treasure to the country, and, though dissension was rife, and resistance to the law and violent acts were counseled, they, for the most part, when the war was over, returned to their homes, and became as active in the arts of peace as they had been in those of war.

These had been a tedious four years; no fighting, no activity, nothing but feints and keeping ready to act on the offensive

1783 at any time, should the occasion require. "They also serve who only stand and wait" was but little consolation to these men, who were burning with the desire to serve their country in some way and yet were obliged to remain idle. No wonder, with no chance for action, no opportunity for showing how deeply they loved their country and how willing they were to sacrifice everything to it, that the Highlands got the name of the "hated Highlands," the "execrable Highlands." But these men did their duty and did it well, for West Point was the key to the military situation in the north, a point which by feint and otherwise the British commander tried to get, but never dared to attack. It was the strategic key to the situation. The fact that it was held and continued to be held was as much a victory for the patriots as though they had won a series of bloody battles in the field.

They all helped to establish on the firmest basis the government of the country of which Gladstone, in one of his speeches, says: "I incline to think that the future of America is of greater importance to Christendom at large than that of any other country."

General Paterson held the highest rank in the Continental army attained by any citizen of Berkshire County. He was one of the very few major-generals holding command at the close of the war. With the exception of Lafayette, he was the youngest officer of his rank in the Revolutionary army. He had the complete confidence of his superiors, not only as a patriot and a soldier, but as a man of sound judgment. His early experience as a lawyer and as a leader of men had ripened his judgment and given to his mind a judicial character. It is noticeable that he appears almost at once on courts-martial, and frequently as president, when the natural course would have been to have placed an officer of higher rank in the position. He was selected not only on account of his character as a soldier, but for his knowledge of law and his eminent judicial ability. He was one of the youngest, if not the youngest, brigadiers in the American army, but he always occupied positions of great trust. Hardly any other

general had seen so much active service and did so much 1783 fighting. He was in the Continental Congress, the siege of Boston, the Canada campaign, both the Jersey campaigns, and the surrender of Burgoyne, and from that time on he was always on the watch-tower to prevent action on the part of the British, and in every situation his work was not only well done, but defied criticism. Every letter of his is full of the care which he had for his men, and shows the tact with which he managed them.

On January 14, 1784, Congress ratified the treaty of peace.

CHAPTER VII.

PEACE.

1783 DURING the war General Paterson had formed intimate acquaintances with many of the foreign officers. He was associated with General Kosciusko, the Polish hero, with whom he formed an especially close and intimate friendship, often, from the necessity of war, sleeping in the same bed. They were spirited, sprightly men. Kosciusko was full of life, and sometimes played practical jokes upon General Paterson when in bed, making a trial of strength; and occasionally General Paterson, who was a great athlete, would take Kosciusko across his knee and hold him till he begged to be released, calling him "a cruel man." They were in the battles of Bemis' Heights and of Saratoga and in the northern campaign together, and were stationed at West Point after the treason of Arnold. General Kosciusko's quarters were on the bend of the river, where his monument now stands. General Paterson's quarters were opposite, at the base of the hill.

Slavery was tolerated at that time in the province of Massachusetts. General Paterson's body-servant was Agrippa Hull,* who was generally called "Grippy." He always claimed that he was the son of an African prince. He served with him through the war. He was intelligent and unusually bright. His aptness and wit and his readiness in repartee, as well as the intelligent manner in which he performed all his duties, made him a great favorite with all the officers of the army stationed at "the Point." Kosciusko took a fancy to Grippy, and after a time became much attached to him, and General Paterson gave him to him as a servant. Kosciusko

* He has been erroneously called Agrippa Hunt.

made Grippy his confidential and head servant, and put him 1783 in charge of his wardrobe. The General had brought with him from Poland a costly uniform, said to have been brilliant with adornments, with a chapeau or crown-shaped cap and a showy cluster of nodding ostrich plumes. On one occasion Kosciusko went from West Point down the river some miles, expecting to cross over and be gone two or three days. In the meantime Grippy improvised a dinner-party and invited to it all the black servants in camp. He dressed himself in General Kosciusko's Polish uniform. As a substitute for boots or black stockings, he blacked his legs in order to make them shine like boots. Kosciusko, for some reason finding he could not cross the river, returned unexpectedly the same day to camp. Before reaching his quarters he was apprized of what was going on, while the dinner was in progress. He left his horse and reached the front of his quarters at the bend of the river, without being discovered. The weather was warm, the windows all open, with a screen placed before the open door to exclude the entertainment from the view of passers-by. The party were drinking wine freely and were very hilarious. The General managed to get behind the screen unobserved, just as the party, all standing, were ceremoniously drinking Grippy's health and calling him by the name of his master. General Kosciusko suddenly sprang in among them, causing such commotion that had Satan himself appeared in their midst it could not have resulted in a greater stampede. Some of the party escaped by the door, but more of them jumped through the windows, falling to the ground heels over head. Grippy fell prostrate at the General's feet, crying, "Whip me, kill me, Massa; do anything with me, Mr. General." General Kosciusko, taking hold of his hand with great formality, said, "Rise, Prince, it is beneath the dignity of an African prince to prostrate himself at the feet of any one." He made him put on his cap of plumes (Grippy meanwhile pleading to be whipped or killed) and marched with him across the grounds to General Paterson's quarters at the base of the hill. The uniform attracted much attention, and to those they met the

1783 General introduced Grippy as an African prince, and some thought he was one in fact. They erected a temporary throne at General Paterson's quarters and placed Grippy upon it. After going through many mock ceremonies of presentation to royalty that afforded the throng a world of sport, they closed by smoking with him the calumet of peace. This was equal to crucifixion to Grippy, and was rare sport to the large military party that had assembled. He never forgot it, and was careful after that never to assume any false position. When he was an old man he delighted in telling this story himself. After the war, when Kosciuszko was about to return to Poland, as Grippy had become very useful to him and almost necessary to his comfort he was desirous that he should go with him, and he agreed to do so, not wishing to refuse his master, to whom he had become very much attached; but the night before they were to embark Grippy ran away to avoid sailing, and returned afterward to General Paterson's service, who later gave him his freedom. He was an apt representative of the African race, intelligent and witty, and a great favorite with all the officers of the army who knew him. When Kosciuszko returned to the United States Grippy was taken to New York to see his old master, and was very cordially received by him. General Lafayette knew Grippy in the army, and on his second visit to this country the Sedgwicks of Stockbridge took Grippy to New York to meet him. As long as he lived the children and grandchildren of the officers he had known went frequently to Stockbridge to see him. He was never tired of telling them stories of the Revolution. He would hold the little children on his knees, while the older ones gathered round him. As he grew old he lived the war over again with the children, and would patiently repeat story after story, or repeat the same story over and over again if they wished it. Grippy lived and died at Stockbridge, Mass., where he owned a small farm, and was for many years a prominent person in all great festivals and notable assemblages.

In 1783, before the army was disbanded, and after the

peace had been signed, and while the officers were still at their cantonments, General Knox drew up a plan of organization of a society of the officers. One officer from each regiment met at the headquarters of Baron Steuben on the east bank of the Hudson, and organized the Society of the Cincinnati. In its original organization, and as long as he lived, General Paterson took the liveliest interest. The meeting for that purpose was held in a large square room in the Verplanck House, the headquarters of Baron Steuben, while the American army was encamped in the vicinity of Newburgh, situated two miles northeast of Fishkill Landing, New York. The following is part of the record of the proceedings at the final meeting of the convention :

"CANTONMENT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY,

"January 19, 1783.

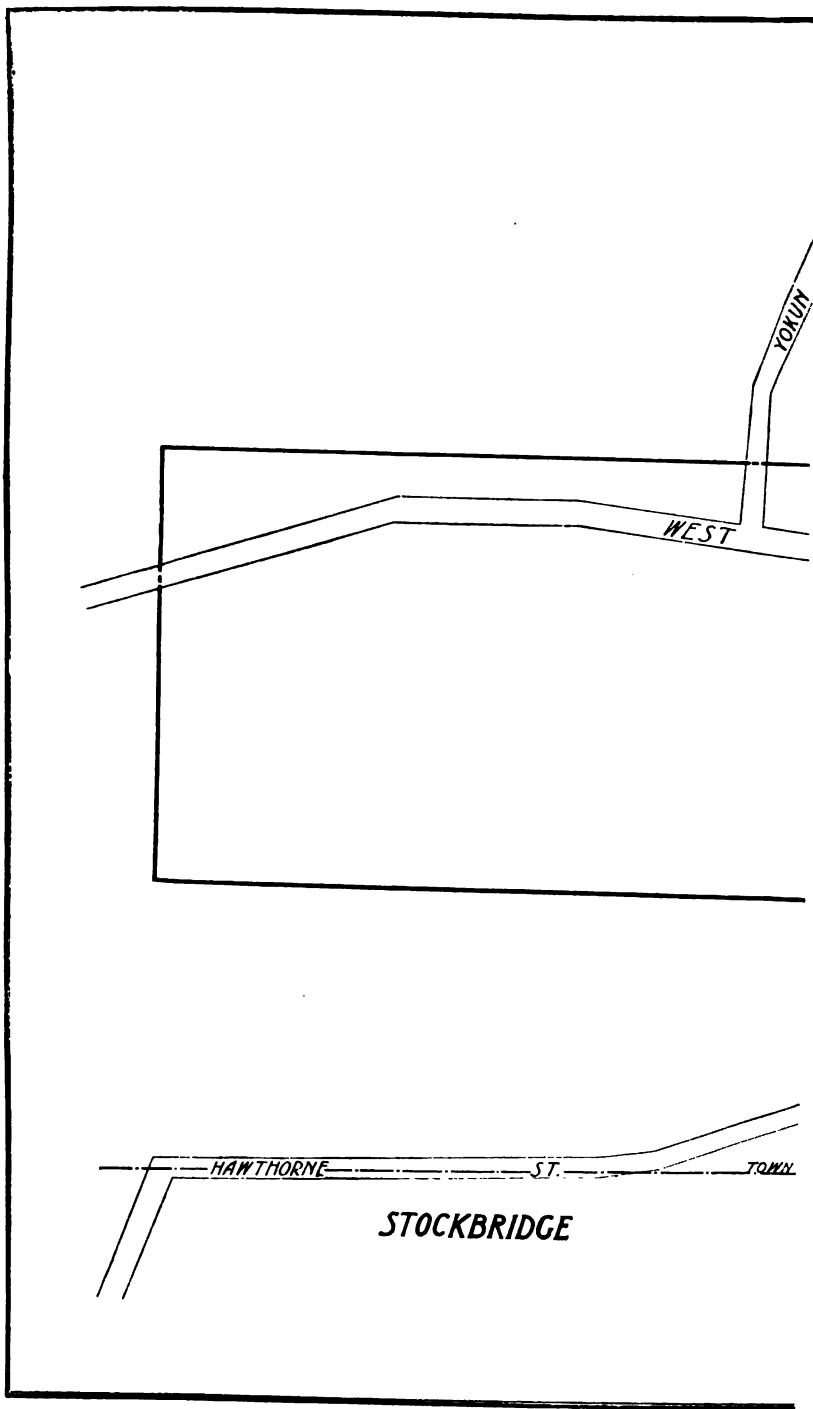
"At a meeting of the general officers and the gentlemen delegates by the respective regiments as a convention for establishing the Society of the Cincinnati, held by request of the President, at which were present Major-General Baron Steuben, President, Major-General Howe, Major-General Knox, Brigadier-General Paterson, Brigadier-General Hand, . . . Baron Steuben acquainted the Convention that he had, agreeably to their requests at the last meeting, transmitted to His Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Member Plenipotentiary from the Court of France, a copy of the constitution of the Society of the Cincinnati."

One article of the society was as follows: "The officers of the American army, having been taken generally from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, and being resolved to follow his example by returning to their citizenship, they think they may well denominate themselves the Society of the Cincinnati." General Paterson's name stands eleventh on the list after that of Washington, and third of the brigadier-generals. When the Massachusetts society was formed, on the 19th of June, 1783, General Paterson presided. He served it again as vice-president in 1785 and 1786.

On his retirement from the army he returned to Lenox. His first considerable purchase of land there, was recorded on

1788 May 2, 1779. On April 10th, while he was in command at West Point, he had received a furlough, from which he returned on June 12th. During this furlough he projected the purchase of 116 acres of land, for which he paid "four hundred pounds lawful money." This was part of the land then known as "the ministers' grant." It was a portion of a grant of 4000 acres made by the Province of Massachusetts Bay to seven persons, five of whom were ministers (hence the name), as an equivalent for lands they had purchased and given to the "mission Indians" of Stockbridge. General Paterson purchased the land from Elizur Dickerson. It was part of a tract of 240 acres which Dickerson had obtained from the famous Puritan divine, Jonathan Edwards. When the tract was surveyed it was found that the conveyances covered about 130 acres. The deed is recorded at the Registry of Deeds in Pittsfield, Book 13, p. 434. This was the "Paterson farm," where four of his children were born, three were married, and three were buried.

Of the highways shown on the plan, Main and Stockbridge Streets, with a road west near the present Hawthorne Street, were the only ones existing in General Paterson's time. Main Street, through the village, does not occupy the same position as then. The part of it which passes in front of General Paterson's house is partly the same as it was in 1754, when it was originally laid out. On the 22d of April, 1784, he purchased 63 acres of land on the Pittsfield road, about a quarter of a mile north of the Meeting House. On the 14th of February, 1785, he purchased a parcel containing about one quarter of an acre near Lenox Furnace, now Lenoxdale. Later he purchased one half of a 50-acre lot in the northwest of the town from David Pixley. These lands he conveyed to Azariah Egleston, in 1787. He built the house which he occupied as long as he lived in Lenox, close onto the street line. In the year 1859 it was moved back to its present position, and the grounds around it beautified, by his grandson, Thomas Egleston, of New York. The house is now owned by his great-grandson,



Thomas Egleston, of that city. He at once became actively 1784 interested in promoting the welfare of the town. He resumed the practice of his profession as a lawyer, which, as the courts had been closed since the king's judges were prevented from holding their court in Great Barrington, became very large. On the 15th of March, and again, on September 27, 1784, he was chosen moderator of the town meeting. On March 15th he was appointed to ascertain the boundaries of the highways.

Peace being now fully restored, the citizens of Lenox who had survived the war returned to their usual occupations. Having no longer, as a town, use for the powder house, they took it down and converted the materials of which it was built into a receiving vault in the village cemetery. Shortly after the resumption of the occupations of peace the question which town should be the county seat began to be of great interest to the citizens of Berkshire County. Each one of the middle tier of towns was persuaded that it was the proper place. The contest gradually narrowed itself down to Pittsfield, Lenox, and Stockbridge. General Paterson and Major Egleston were among the strongest advocates for Lenox. They went further than the mere question of advantages. They circulated a subscription list for the erection of the county buildings. This list was headed by General Paterson, who was always interested in every public movement, with eighty pounds sterling, the largest sum that was subscribed, and a very large amount for those days, and followed with a smaller sum, but still a very large one for those days, from Major Egleston.* When the requisite amount was nearly raised by subscription the papers, with a petition, were sent to Boston. It was then put to a popular vote, the result being that the citizens of Berkshire County, by majority vote, petitioned the legislature to have Stockbridge and not Lenox made the county town. The legislature, however, determined that it should be Lenox, and made it so. On September 27th, at a town meeting of which he was made moderator, General Paterson was chosen delegate from the town to a county convention to be held the

* See Appendix C.

1784-1785 next day "to prevent if possible the court-house and jails being built in any other town in the County but Lenox, as 'tis fixed here by law." In May, 1787, the Court of General Sessions appointed Major Egleston, of Lenox, Theodore Sedgwick and John Bacon, of Stockbridge, to determine a site for the county buildings, which were commenced in 1788. The jail was finished in 1790, on the hill on the old Stockbridge road, half a mile south of the village. It burned down in 1812, when the legislature was memorialized to change the county seat to Pittsfield. The contest was between the northern tier of towns, who wanted Pittsfield, and the southern tier, who insisted upon Lenox being retained. Notwithstanding, when put to vote by towns it was decided in favor of Lenox; but this contest in regard to the removal of the county buildings from Lenox was constantly renewed, and after eighty-one years (in 1860) was successful, when they were removed to Pittsfield.

The first court-house was completed in 1791 or 1792. It was a wooden building. It is still standing in excellent preservation. The present court-house, now no longer used for that purpose, was built in 1815. The original court-house is now occupied by the post-office, the town-hall, and stores.

On the 7th of March, 1785, he was appointed as a select-man, assessor, and verifier of the fences of the town, and was sworn in. On March 28th he "was chosen one of the school committee, to provide schoolmasters and to see the said money (£150) applied for the purpose aforesaid, in the district in which they respectively reside." On April 4th he was made a committee to provide a suitable place for the town stock of ammunition. On May 9th he was chosen "to represent this town at the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth for the ensuing year."

He was interested, as before the war, in all public matters, as is shown by the two extracts given below. Remembering the danger which he had been exposed to in Canada and Ticonderoga from small-pox and the sufferings of his soldiers, he was in sympathy with those who had tried to avoid it al-



GEN. PATERSON'S HOUSE IN LENOX, MASS.
BUILT IN 1783, AS IT WAS IN 1892

though they had used unlawful means, and it is not surpris- 1785
ing to find him joining in the petition given below :

" July 1st 1785.

" To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

" The Subscribers Inhabitants of the County of Berkshire, Representatives in the Genl Court humbly shew, that during the last Fall & Winter the small Pox was communicated repeatedly from the State of New York to divers Inhabitants of the said County, that many Persons dreading the malignant effects of that Disorder when raging in the natural way, endeavored to avoid the Evil by Inoculation that by means thereof the danger was increased (the Business of Inoculation being conducted by no System) and the Persons Receiving the Infection increased in proportion, that the danger was so imminent that it was impossible to wait to pursue the course pointed out by Law. That great distress must be the result of a vigorous exaction of the Penalty incurred on the Occasion, that although in some instances there was probably imprudence and in others the disorder was communicated when there was not an absolute necessity therefor, yet it will be extremely difficult if not absolutely impossible to discriminate. Wherefore your Petitioners humbly Pray your Honors that the Persons above described who have incurred the penalty by Law, provided against receiving or communicating the small Pox by Inoculation from the first Day of November 1784 untill the first Day of June last past may be indemnified therefor and duty bound shall ever Pray.

" ERASTUS SARGENT	JAMES BARKER
" JOHN PATERSON	JOHN ASHLEY
" NATH BISHOP	WM BRUNSON
" DANIEL TAYLOR	EBENR PEIRCE
" CHARLES GOODRICH	EBENEZER JENKINS
	IRAE JONES." *

" Common Wealth of Massachusetts, House of Representatives June ye 24th 1785.

" On the Petition of Erastus Sergeant, John Paterson and others, Representatives from the several Towns in the County of Berkshire, setting forth that a number of the Inhabitants in the several Towns in said County had Inoculated themselves and familys for the small Pox for fear of (A) *the Danger of* receiving that Infectious disease in the Natural way from some person that brought the same into the several towns in sd County. And the Above Inhabitants receiving the small Pox by Inoculation being Contrary to Law have rendered themselves liable to fines and penalties without some Relief from the Court, therefor

* Massachusetts Resolves, chap. ci.

1785 "Resolved that all and Every person being Inhabitants of Either of the Towns in the County of Berkshire that have Received the small Pox, either in the Natural way or by Inoculation in any of the Towns aforesaid, at any time between the first day of November A D 1784 and the (B) first day of June 1785 be and they are hereby Remitted and discharged from all penalties incur'd by breach of any of the Laws of this Commonwealth for preventing the Spreading of the small Pox, any Law or Resolve to the Contrary notwithstanding.

"Provided, nevertheless that all and Every of the above described Inhabitants against whom any Actions or presentments shall have taken place, before the passing of this Resolve are and they shall be holden to the payment of all Legal Charges that may have arisen in Consequence of said Actions or presentments, anything in this Resolve to the Contrary notwithstanding

sent up for concurrence

NATH GORHAM *Spkr*

In Senate June 29, 1785. Read & concurred with
amendments at A & B
at A dele "the danger of"
at B dele "first" & insert Tenth

Sent down for concurrence

SAM^L PHILLIPS *junr Presid*

In the House of Representatives July 1, 1785
Read & concurred

NATH GORHAM *Speaker*

Approved
JAMES BOWDOIN."

While a representative from Lenox to the General Court for the terms of 1785-86, General Paterson presented the following petition. It is difficult now to realize that the conditions which caused the petition could have existed at so late a period in Massachusetts.

"To the honorable the Senate & the House of Representatives in General Court assembled * .

"Novr 1785

"Humbly shew the subscribers, in behalf and at the request of the Representatives of the Counties to which we respectively belong, that such of late hath been the destruction of young cattle, and sheep by wolves, in the extreme parts of the Commonwealth, as to threaten the total extirpation of those useful and profitable animals unless some methods are speedily adopted, to prevent this evil; they therefore hum-

* Massachusetts Senate Documents, No. 607.

bly pray your Honors to take the matter into consideration and grant relief by the offer of additional bounties, to persons destroying wolves, or in such other way as your Honors in your wisdom shall deem proper. 1785

"And as in duty bound shall ever pray

PLINY MERRICK	}	For Hampshire
JOHN WILLIAMS		
JUSTIN ELY		
JOHN PATERSON		For Berkshire
MOSES AMES		For York
ISAAC PARSONS	}	For Cumberland
SAM ^L MERRILL		
BENJAMIN DUNING		
WILLIAM JONES	}	For Lincoln
JOHN STINSON		

In Senate, Nover 26 1785 Read and committed to Peter Coffin Esqr
with such as the Honble house shall join

Sent down for concurrence

SAM^L PHILLIPS *jun^r President*

In the House of Representatives, Nov^r 30, 1785

Read & concurred & Mr Fessenden & Mr Davis of Charlton are joined

NATH GORHAM *Speaker.*"

During the Revolutionary War the Spanish milled dollar was the unit of common commercial account. The advocates of honest paper money expected it to be redeemed in the full value of that coin. After the Revolution, between the time of its close and the adoption of the constitution, foreign coins, very much worn and sometimes so much defaced that it was impossible to tell except from their diameter what the original coin had been, constituted the almost exclusive medium of circulation, and there were a great number of them. So much suffering had been caused during the war by the issue of paper currency based simply on the good faith of the State that three clauses were put in the constitution prohibiting the States from coining money, emitting bills of credit, and tendering anything but gold and silver in payment of debts. These were considered necessary to prevent the debasement of the currency and the consequent loss of financial credit by the nation.

1785 When the decimal currency * and the standard American dollar was adopted in the United States on July 6, 1785, the people accepted it at once, but they did not give up the use of shillings and pence. The use of the word shilling and of a coin to represent it were still continued up to the time of the Civil War. The word penny is still largely used in place of cent. The dollar was divided into shillings. Their number in a dollar as well as their value and name varied very much in the different States. The shilling had been one twentieth of a pound, and the endeavor was made to divide the dollar into shillings that would be approximately of the same value. In Georgia and South Carolina it was made $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar, so that $4\frac{1}{3}$ shillings of $21\frac{1}{3}$ cents, which were usually reckoned as 5, were equal to a dollar. In New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Virginia there were 6 shillings in a dollar, equal to $16\frac{2}{3}$ cents each, which was called a Yankee shilling. Seventy-five cents was counted as 4 shillings and 6 pence, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents as 3 shillings and 9 pence, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents as 9 pence. In New York and North Carolina there were 8 shillings in a dollar, equal to $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, called a York shilling. In New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, the shilling was $\frac{2}{5}$ of a dollar, making 8 shillings and 6 pence in a dollar, and the shilling was equal to $13\frac{1}{5}$ cents. The coins in use were very largely old Spanish pieces, which were very much worn, "the York shilling" being represented by a coin the value of which was about 10 cents, and the half-shilling or sixpence being a coin which was generally worn perfectly smooth, the value of which was not much over 4 cents. There was also a *pistarene* valued at 20 cents. These coins were continued in use until the time of the Civil War, after which they were received only at their weight value and very rapidly disappeared from circulation. In New Orleans the shilling was called a *bit*. It is very singular that, although the coins have long since disappeared, and the values representing them have no longer any legal status, the words shil-

* For the coinage resolutions of July 6, 1785, see Appendix K.

ling and pence are still used, while the words dime and half-dime have not come into general use. 1785

The colonists had adopted for their money the English currency of pounds, shillings, and pence. This pound was in use under the Saxon rule about 671 A.D., and was originally a Troy pound of pure silver, which was divided into twenty parts called shillings. In the time of William Rufus it was 11 ounces and 2 dwts. of fine silver, with 18 dwts. of alloy, or the weight of fine silver in twenty shillings. In 1087 it was worth 3 pounds, 2 shillings of the present money. Both its value and weight were afterwards decreased. In order to distinguish it from other pounds, it was called by the Baltic and German traders, who visited London during the Middle Ages, a pound esterling, which was finally corrupted into the name sterling. At the time when the silver pound was established by royal decree there was no gold coinage in England. The first copper pence were introduced in 1797.

From 1785 to 1786 General Paterson served as a representative of Berkshire County in the General Court at Boston.

On December 1, 1785, General Paterson was appointed major-general of the 9th division of the State by the State of Massachusetts. On June 7, 1786, the governor reported that he had issued commissions to the generals appointed.* The commission of General Paterson is given below:

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts

"By his Excellency James Bowdoin Esqr Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

"To the honorable John Patterson Esq Greeting

"You being appointed a major General of the militia within this Commonwealth, but more especially within the County of Berkshire which forms the ninth of the nine divisions of the said militia

"By virtue of the power vested in me I do by these Presents (reposing special trust & confidence in your loyalty, courage & good conduct) commission you accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Major General in leading ordering & exercising the said militia in arms both inferior officers and Soldiers; and keeping them in good order & discipline. And they are hereby commanded to

* See Appendix F

1786 obey you as Major General: and you are yourself to observe & follow such orders & instructions as you shall from time to time receive from your Superior officer.

"Given under my hand & the Seal of the said Commonwealth the third day of April in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty six & in the tenth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

(LS)

"JAMES BOWDOIN *

"By his excellency's command

"JOHN AVERY, *junr Secry.*"

On May 2, 1786, he was made moderator of the town meeting at Lenox, and he was again chosen selectman and assessor. He declined to serve as selectman, but was sworn in as assessor. He was voted on the same date £10 10s. for his services as representative at the General Court in 1774, and £3 10s. for his services as selectman, with interest to date.

In March, 1786, General Paterson became interested in the purchase of lands in the State of Maine. On the 28th of October, 1783, the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts resolved that the unappropriated lands in Lincoln County in Maine, which is the most northeasterly county of that State on the ocean, should be sold, and in March of the year 1786 General Paterson, with seven other persons, agreed to purchase, for the sum of three thousand six hundred and two pounds and eight shillings in specie securities of the United States, 19,392 acres of land, on condition that two hundred acres near the center of the town should remain at the disposition of the government, and that two hundred acres near the center of the town should be appropriated for the use of the ministry, two hundred acres for the use of the first settled minister, and two hundred and eighty acres for the use of a grammar school, and upon the further condition that they should quiet the claims of the settlers in that district who had made improvements prior to January, 1784, and were now there, and also of such settlers as had purchased the improvements of any previous settlers who had sold and had left, by granting to each of them, their heirs and assigns, one hundred

* Massachusetts Book of Commissions, p. 161.

acres of land, to be so selected as to best include their improvements, and also on condition that they should cause to be settled in this township five families annually for the next six succeeding years. It does not appear from the records that this purchase was ever completed, or, if it was, what was done with the land, but it is interesting as showing the condition of the State of Maine at that time. The document in full is given below.

"Know All men by these Presents

"That we whose names are undersigned & Seals affixed appointed a Committee by a resolve of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts passed the 28th day of October A.D. 1783 on the Subject of unappropriated Lands in the County of Lincoln and by that and other resolves of the said Court empowered to sell & convey the unappropriated Lands of the Commonwealth In the said County, for, and In consideration of the sum of Three Thousand six Hundred & two Pounds Eight shillings in the specie Securities of the United States of America drawing interest to us paid by John Patterson Esqr of Lenox & Thompson Joseph Skinner Esqr of Williamstown both in the County of Berkshire Joseph Blake of Milton in the County of Suffolk Merchant Phinehas Upham Esqr & James Upham Merchant both of Brookfield & John Ball of Northborough In the County of Worcester & John Duballet of Boston In the County of Suffolk Merchant & all of the Commonwealth aforesaid We have Given Granted bargained Sold & conveyed and by these Presents In behalf of the said Commonwealth do give Grant bargain Sell & convey unto the said John Patterson, Thompson J. Skinner, Joseph Blake, Phinehas Upham, James Upham, John Ball & John Duballet, Their Heirs & Assigns one Township of Land Lying in the County of Lincoln aforesaid Vizt No Five containing Nineteen Thousand Three hundred & Ninety two Acres & is bounded as follows, beginning at a Spruce Tree marked thus 1784, with a heap of Stones by it, Standing on the west Shore of Schoodick Bay, alias Passamaquady Bay, & is the North East Corner of No Four Township from thence Running South Seventy degrees West Five Miles two hundred & seventy one rods to a Cedar stump & stones being a corner of Four Townships & is a five Rods sht of a burnt Swamp on the North side of a hill Then North twenty degrees West five Miles one Hundred & Four Rods to a Stake & a heap of Stones on the Southerly side of Schoodick River & to continue the same Course into the middle of sd River then down the midle of Schoodick River to the bay aforesaid opposit the Devils Head so called) then Southerly by the West Shore of sd Bay to the bounds first mentioned To the sd Grantees in the following proportions Vizt (to John Patterson seven sixteenths to Thompson J Skinner one eighth to

1786 Joseph Blake one Eighth to Phinehas Upham one Eighth to James Upham, one sixteenth to John Ball, one sixteenth to John Duballet one sixteenth, of the foregoing describ'd Township to be held by them in Severalty

"Reserving however for the future disposition of Government two hundred Acres near the Center of sd Town and upon Conditions that the said John, Thompson J, Joseph, Phinehas, James John & John shall appropriate near the Center of said Town two hundred Acres for the use of the Ministry, Two hundred Acres for the use of the first settled Minister & two hundred & Eighty Acres for the use of a Grammar School, & upon this further Condition that the said John, Thompson J. Joseph Phinehas James John & John Shall quiet the Settlers Who made distinct Improvement prior to the first day of January 1784 and now Remain on such Settlements, also Such Settlers who have purchased the Improvements of any such Settlers whose Settlement was made before the first of January aforesaid & who has sold & Left such Possessions by Granting to each of them ther heirs & Assigns one Hundred Acres of Land to be laid out so as best to Include their Improvement thereon & that the sd John, Thompson J, Joseph, Phinehas, James, John & John shall settle or cause to be settled on the sd Township No 5 five families annually for the next Six succeeding years to have & to hold the sd Granted Premises to the sd John Patterson, Thompson J Skinner Joseph Blake Phinehas Upham, James Upham John Ball & John Duballet their Heirs & Assigns to their proper use & behoof for ever & that the sd Committe in behalf of the sd Commonwealth Covenant & agree with the sd John Patterson Thompson J. Skinner Joseph Blake, Phinehas Upham, James Upham, John Ball & John Duballet that the sd Commonwealth shall warrant the same Granted Premises to them their Heirs & Assigns saving as aforesaid against the Lawfull claims of All persons

"In Witness whereof the Committe have hereunto sett their hands & Seals this day of March 1786

"Signed Sealed & delivered
in Presence of us" *

Governor Bowdoin called a convention at Falmouth, now Portland, on October 5, 1785, to discuss the propriety of having a separate government for the State of Maine. This caused a great deal of discontent, and probably had something to do with the Shays' Rebellion which followed so soon, as it caused the formation of a party against "the evil tendency toward dismembering the Commonwealth." Maine did not

* Massachusetts Miscellaneous Papers.

become an independent State until 1820. It became the property of Massachusetts by purchase. 1786

The history of this transaction is interesting as it shows by what an uncertain tenure the colonists held their first charter, as well as their determination to defend it at any cost. There was at the court of Charles II. of England a gentleman, Sir Fernando Gorges, who was a soldier of fortune. He was possessed with the idea that he ought to be a ruler of some part of the world and live in state. He had at times influence with the court, and when attention was called to the particularly favorable charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, he became possessed with the idea that in some way this charter stood between him and his ambitions and hoped-for greatness. He therefore, on December 19, 1632, made a vigorous attack on it, the result of which was that the matter of the charter was referred to a committee of twelve Lords of the Council for investigation and report. They reported that there was no cause why the charter should be interfered with. This did not satisfy Sir Fernando, so in February, 1634, he renewed the attack, in the hope of having it vacated and of going out to New England as governor-general with royal authority, to assume the whole government and reign there in state like a prince. The result was a demand for the surrender of the charter, which demand could not be complied with, as the charter had been taken out to America. When this news reached the colony the clergy were asked, "What ought we to do if a governor-general should be sent out of England?" The quick and decisive answer came: "We ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions." It was the same kind of spirit which, when their rights were actually trampled on a century and a half later, made the Revolutionary War. They were blind to all this in England; but as the order could not then be obeyed, it lay on the table of the Lords in Council and was forgotten. If they had sent out a governor-general at that time he would have been resisted with all the force the colonies could command. The matter was called up, however, in 1635, with the result of declaring the charter void *ad*

1785 *initio*. It, however, resulted in nothing; the king was too busy and Gorges too poor to take advantage of it, and the charter of the colony was not surrendered. In June, 1635, the Council for New England, which held all the country between the 40th and the 48th parallels of latitude, from ocean to ocean, surrendered its charter to the king. The king then announced his intention of making Sir Fernando Gorges his governor-general; but as matters did not progress rapidly enough, if they did progress at all, on April 3, 1639, Sir Fernando secured a patent by which he and his heirs were created Lords Proprietors of the province or county of Maine, with the title of Lord Paramount of Maine. This seemed to satisfy his ambition for the time. He at once created a complicated paper government, and sent out in 1640 his governor with the charter, expecting as soon as his government was established to go in state himself. His first and second governors, however, would not remain; he could get neither emigrants nor credit. His ambitious projects were never realized. Misfortune seemed to follow his schemes from the beginning. When he died he left his claim and his title to his heirs. As there was no question as to the validity of his claim, his heirs succeeded to it, but were never able to make anything out of it, and finally, on May 13, 1677-8, his grandson sold the deed to the Massachusetts Bay Company for £1250, and the colony of Massachusetts Bay thus became the Lord Paramount of Maine.

On the 16th of June, 1783, 288 officers in the Continental line sent a petition to Congress praying that body to make them a grant of lands on the Ohio.* No attention was paid to this at the time, although on September 16, 1776, Congress had offered to all those who would enlist for the war very liberal bounties in land, and to foreign officers who would leave the enemy's service and enter the Continental line similar offers were made. When these offers were made, Congress did not own an acre of land, but all the vacant territory claimed by the British was covered by claims

* For the letters of Colonel Putnam and General Washington on the subject see Appendix I.

of title by the several colonies. When the United States was formed, in addition to the freedom of the thirteen colonies, it found itself the possessor by conquest of the vast amount of territory previously known as "crown lands," but then known as "vacant territory." The attention of Congress was almost immediately called to this territory, as a means of quieting all these claims, for all this back country became common property, to be administered for the common good, and eventually to be organized into independent States. Some of these States, as Maryland and New Jersey, refused to enter into the confederacy until these claims were satisfied. All the other States, except Maryland, accepted the articles of confederation as early as May 21, 1779. On the 12th of February, 1781, New York gave its deed of cession to the United States, and then Maryland gave its deed, but with the distinct declaration that she "doth not relinquish or intend to relinquish any right or interest she hath with the other united or confederated States to the back country." Congress succeeded in quieting these claims, and in 1783, as soon as it had the power under the acceptance of the treaty, commenced studying plans for the satisfaction of them. Two plans were proposed. The South proposed that for two cents an acre any choice land in any territory could be acquired by those who would bear the expense of the survey. This would result in the greatest confusion, as every one was to run his own line, so that there would be constant overlapping. The New England plan was that the government was to make the surveys, and grants were to be made, the bounds of which were to be settled by surveyors under oath. This last plan was adopted, and provision made for the civil, religious, and educational wants of the population, and the township system was fully established. In the dark days of the Revolution, when there was a report circulated that Russia was to join England in "putting down the rebellion," Washington had said: "If this be true we will repair to the valley of the Ohio and there be free." This had been preserved as a tradition in the army. The "Ohio Company" was formed, 1785

1785 with the plan of settling the country and founding a new State.

The plan for the surveys having been adopted, General Paterson became interested in the famous "Ohio scheme," which did so much for the opening up of the Western country. A company was organized, consisting of old soldiers of the Massachusetts line, chief among whom was Colonel Rufus Putnam and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, a former chaplain. General Paterson was to represent the Berkshire soldiers in the scheme. Congress had failed to act on the petition of 288 officers of the Continental army which had been sent to that body on the 16th of June, 1783, but on the 10th of January, 1786, Colonels Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper issued a call for meetings of those who wished to further the "Ohio scheme" settlement.

Rev. M. Cutler adds in his Journal :

"In consequence of this notice, meetings were held in the several Counties, and delegates appointed, who convened at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in Boston, March 1, 1786. These were Winthrop Sargent and John Mills from Suffolk Co ; Manasseh Cutler, from Essex ; John Brooks and Thomas Cushing, from Middlesex ; Benjamin Tupper from Hampshire ; Crocker Sampson, from Plymouth ; Rufus Putnam from Worcester ; John Paterson and Jeliel Woodbridge, from Berkshire ; and Abraham Williams from Barnstable."*

The object of the meeting was to devise measures for the purchase of lands and the formation of a colony. It was proposed that the scrip given as pay, which was then selling at a very low price, should be received at its face value by the government in payment for these lands. Within two days the "Ohio Company" was organized. Not only officers of the army, but also those of the navy, were welcome, and some distinguished navy officers joined. There was a great deal of preliminary work to be done, for it was necessary to hunt for those who held the land certificates, which had been given in payment for services, and to set before them the advantages of the new country. The company was formed on the following basis :

* From Manasseh Cutler's Journal, vol. i., p. 180.

The propositions for the formation of the Ohio Company 1785 were as follows :

Propositions for settling a new State by such officers and soldiers of the Federal Army as shall associate for that purpose.

1. That the United States purchase of the natives that tract of country which is bounded by Pennsylvania on the east, the River Ohio on the south, a meridian drawn thirty miles west of the River Scioto on the west—this meridian to run from the Ohio to the Miami River, which runs into Lake Erie—and by this river and Lake Erie on the north.

2. That, in the first instance, lands be assigned to the army to fulfil the engagements of the United States by the resolutions of the 16th of September, 1776, August 18th and September 30th, 1780, to wit :

To a major-general	1100 acres	To chief physician and	
To a brigadier-general	850 "	purveyor, each	500 acres
To a colonel	500 "	To physicians, surgeons	
To a lieutenant-colonel	450 "	and apothecary, each	450 "
To a major	400 "	To regimental surgeons	
To a captain	300 "	and assistants to the	
To a lieutenant	200 "	surveyor and apothecary, each	400 "
To an ensign or cornet	150 "	To hospital and regimental surgeons'	
To a non-commissioned officer or soldier	100 "	mates, each	300 "
To the director of the military hospitals	850 "		

3. That all associators who shall actually settle in the new State within one year after the purchase shall be effected, and notice given by Congress or the committee of the associators that the same is ready for settlement (such notice to be published in the newspapers of all the United States), shall receive such additional quantities of land as to make their respective rights in the whole to contain the following number of acres, to wit :

A major-general	2400 acres	A lieutenant	1200 acres
A brigadier-general	2200 "	An ensign or cornet	1000 "
A colonel	2000 "	A sergeant	700 "
A lieutenant-colonel	1800 "	Other non-commissioned officers and	
A major	1600 "	soldiers, each	600 "
A captain	1400 "		

And fifty acres more for each member of a family besides the head of it.

4. That the rights of the officers in the medical department be increased in like manner on the same condition.

5. That all officers in the other staff departments, who shall actually settle in the new State within the time above limited, shall receive rights of land in the proportions last stated, on an equitable comparison of their stations with the ranks of the officers of the line and the medical staff.

1785 6. That this increased provision of lands shall extend to all officers of the line and staff, and to all non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who during the present war have performed in the whole three years service, whether in service or not at the close of the war, provided they present their claims and become actual settlers in the new State by the time above limited.

7. These surplus rights being secured, all the surplus lands shall be the common property of the State and disposed of for the common good ; as for laying out roads, building bridges, erecting public buildings, establishing schools and academies, defraying the expenses of government, and other public uses.

8. That every grantee shall have a house built and——acres of land cleared on his right within——years, or the same shall be forfeited to the State.

9. That, to enable the associators to undertake the settlement of the new State, the United States defray the expenses of the march thither, furnish the necessary utensils of husbandry, and such live stock as shall be indispensably requisite for commencing the settlement, and subsistence for three years, to wit, one ration of bread and meat per day to each man, woman and child ; and to every soldier a suit of clothes annually ; the cost of these articles to be charged to the accounts of arrearages due to the members of the association respectively.

10. That, for the security of the State against Indians, every officer and soldier go armed, the arms to be furnished by the United States and charged to the accounts of arrearages. Ammunition to be supplied in the same way.

11. That a Constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associators present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose agreeing therein. The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.

12. That the associators, so assembled, agree on such general rules as they shall deem necessary for the prevention and punishment of crimes, and the preservation of peace and good order in the State ; to have the force of laws during the space of two years, unless an Assembly of the State, formed agreeably to the Constitution, shall sooner repeal them.

13. That the State, so constituted, shall be admitted into the confederacy of the United States, and entitled to all the benefits of the Union, in common with the other members thereof.

14. That, at the above-mentioned meeting of the associators, delegates be chosen to represent them in the Congress of the United States, to take their seats as soon as the new State shall be erected.

15. That the associators, having borne together as brethren the dangers and calamities of war, and feeling that mutual friendship

which long acquaintance and common sufferings give rise to, it being 1785 also the obvious dictate of humanity to supply the wants of the needy and alleviate the distresses of the afflicted, it shall be an inviolable rule to take under the immediate patronage of the State the wives and children of such associators who, having settled there, shall die, or, by cause of wounds or sickness, be rendered unable to improve their plantations, or follow their occupations, during the first twenty-one years ; so that such destitute and distressed families shall receive such public aids, as, joined with their own reasonable exertions, will maintain them in a manner suitable to the condition of the heads of them ; especially that the children, when grown up, may be on a footing with other children whose parents, at the original formation of the State were in similar circumstances with those of the former." *

Nothing shows more certainly that the officers of the Revolution were badly compensated for their services and for the long, distressing, and many times uncertain struggle for the national liberty, than the destitute condition in which they found themselves at the close of the war. After having spent eight years of the most valuable part of their lives fighting for liberty, enduring every species of exposure, fatigue, suffering, and sickness, the army was dismissed and its members sent to their homes, if they were so fortunate as to have any, with unfilled purses and empty promises and an unsatisfactory future, many of them with constitutions broken or impaired by illness. The certificates which they received as evidence of the sum due them for their services were almost valueless. They were bought and sold in the market at 2½ shillings to the pound, and as late as 1788 were worth only 5 shillings to the pound. The men by forces of necessity were obliged to sell them or starve. They were honorable, high minded men, most of whom had been officers during the war, and they rebelled at the thought of living in poverty among people whose comparative wealth had been gained mostly by trading and staying at home. Under such feelings as these, most of them retired to the frontier and were very glad of such a refuge as the "Ohio Company" furnished them.

* *Life of Manasseh Cutler*, vol. i., p. 156 *et seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

SHAYS' REBELLION.

1786 GENERAL PATERSON'S military services did not end with the Revolution. Before the close of the war the discontent which had showed itself among the soldiers, and which had to be put down with such an iron hand, spread itself among the people of Massachusetts and led them to acts of open rebellion in that and the adjoining States, under the leadership of Daniel Shays. They were sympathized with at first by many of the best citizens of the State and by the people of nearly all the neighboring States, and although it does not appear that they received aid from any of them, this sympathy had a great deal to do with the prolongation of the resistance of the rebels, who were everywhere defeated during many months.

At the request of the Governor of Massachusetts, General Paterson commanded the Berkshire militia in the suppression of this rebellion.

He selected as his staff the gentlemen whose names are given below, who served with him during the rebellion :

Theodore Sedgwick,	Aide-de-camp.
Joshua Danforth,	Aide-de-camp.
Simeon Learned,	Aide-de-camp.
Erastus Sargeant,	Surgeon-General.
Ebenezer Williams,	Deputy-Adjutant-General.
Azariah Egleston,	Deputy-Quartermaster-General.

The political agitation which led to Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts began very soon after the close of the Revolution, and for a time threatened not only the entire subversion of law and order in the State, but also the aban-

donment of some of the great principles which had been regarded as settled by the Revolutionary War. Its complete suppression, however, by the energetic action of the authorities of the State and the support of these principles by a very large majority of the people was fortunate, as it called the attention of the prominent men of every State in the Union to difficulties whose solution caused a careful study of the conditions which rendered the rebellion possible, and undoubtedly hastened not only the acceptance of the Constitution under which we are now living, but also its very careful revision so as to make such occurrences unlikely in the future.

Some of the people, exasperated by a condition of things which could hardly have been avoided, lost their judgment, excited their own passions and those of the multitude by public addresses, and sought redress in riot and murder, as if that would right their wrongs. The people of the commonwealth were groaning under burdens and evils of which they imperfectly comprehended the causes and still more imperfectly the remedy. They had some real and more fancied grievances. They had been in a constant state of agitation since the accession of George III. They had now been under arms since 1774. They had been without courts since 1780, and most of the time at war. War and its consequences had become familiar to them, and its rapid methods of justice satisfied them. The State constitution was new, and the Federal not yet adopted. They had not yet learned by experience that under a constitutional government every evil can be removed without resort to arms by patient and peaceable agitation.

The principal causes of discontent during Shays' Rebellion were the universal indebtedness, the difficulty of collecting either principal or interest, the injustice of the law against debtors, the abuse of the debtors' prison, and the scarcity of money. There was no law for the just distribution of the property of the debtor among his creditors. Executions on property were satisfied in their chronological order until the

1786 estate was exhausted. The least suspicion of financial unsoundness was followed by attachments. He who came first got the most; those who came last got nothing. The result was great injustice to both debtor and creditor. The efforts of creditors to collect what was due them were resisted. The decisions of the courts against the debtor were regarded as the cause of the distress, since they gave the creditor legal power against the debtor. Gold and silver had for a long time ceased to be a circulating medium, and were rarely seen. The currency of the country was a mere promise to pay based upon nothing, and had become completely valueless. How far values had fluctuated is shown by the fact that the allowance of twopence a head for killing old blackbirds had become in May, 1780, thirty shillings; that labor on the highways, which had previously been paid at three shillings a day, had become seven pounds. A dollar in silver, for the collection of taxes, was worth one hundred and twenty in Continental currency. The people were really poor. Those who could had borrowed money at exorbitant rates of interest to pay taxes, and now no ready money could be had. The burden fell heavily both on the State and the people. The State could not relax the taxes; the people could not pay them. Both the law and the customs relating to the collection of debts had been harsh and unjust, and when the war was over there arose a fashion about them which made them unbearable. The people knew that they were carrying heavy burdens, and they could find neither the cause nor the remedy. They had fought for eight years to get redress from oppressions much more easily borne, and which in comparison to those they were now bearing seemed trifling. It appeared to some as if the whole war had been fought only to settle a theoretical principle, and many of them, if it would have brought redress, would have willingly gone back to "the king and all the royal family." The State was as badly off as the citizen. He saw no way out of the situation, for his quota of the national, State, county, and town debt was all incurred in the defense of his liberty and was binding upon him. Besides his obligations to the State

he had his own private indebtedness. The principal was piling 1786 up, and in addition the interest on the portion not paid was accumulating, as he could pay neither the one nor the other.

The whole of the State debt previous to the war was not quite £100,000. When it closed the State debt was £1,300,000. In 1784 the State of Massachusetts imposed a tax of £140,000. In 1786, when it became necessary to fund the army debt, it was increased by a still further imposition of £110,000. The State's proportion of the national debt was £1,500,000 in addition. During all the time that this debt had been accumulating the soldiers had been fighting for the great principles on which, since then, the laws relating to the liberties of nations have been founded, but the people had learned nothing of finance except as the leaders were obliged to supply the daily needs of the army. The impulse given to manufacturers by the artificial stimulus of the war ceased when it was over, and they were depressed. Farming yielded but a scanty subsistence, and the houses, farms, and manufactories were in many cases hopelessly mortgaged; and in the ruin which seemed to stare every one in the face moral as well as pecuniary obligations seemed to lose their force. The soldiers, accustomed to the shiftless habits and excitement of camp life, could not accustom themselves to the routine of every-day duties at home. They had been fighting against the unlawful imposition of taxes. They were more oppressed now by the lawful imposition of them, than they ever had been by those which the king had proposed to impose. The people at large were quiet and patient. Some individuals who had sacrificed little and had grown rich by speculation, and were ostentatious in their display of it, created ill-feeling and kept up a constant irritation by flaunting their wealth in the face of their countrymen who had sacrificed greatly and now felt keenly the sharp pinch of poverty. Among the turbulent and unprincipled the cry was, "Down with the courts of law! prevent the judges from acting, and hang the lawyers!" The people were irritated by the fact that some of the extreme conservative leaders had expressed in an exasperating way

1786 a contempt for the common people which made them feel that there was a privileged class which might become an aristocracy.

The constitution of the State which had been adopted in 1780 neither abrogated nor alleviated the debtor laws, and it seemed as if, from the situation, their execution had become more cruel than before; for the sacrifices which had been made by the soldiers were great, and they were the ones who were called upon most frequently to suffer on account of their inability to settle their accounts. The interest which they were obliged either to pay or to add to the principal consumed their resources without lessening their burdens. Bail was available for the criminal, but not for the debtor; and many a man who had fought bravely during the war came from the privations of camp life, where at least he had some liberty, only to find himself in prison behind a door which could be opened by money alone, which from no fault of his he did not have and could not get. All of the misfortunes which he suffered were attributed to the government. The people saw themselves at the mercy of either the tax-gatherer or the sheriff and the jailer, and if they were so fortunate as to escape these, they had scarcely enough to keep themselves alive, with no other hope but the poorhouse as a refuge in their old age.

Leaders of the discontented were not wanting, either then or now. Some of these were undoubtedly sincere in their motives; some of them were mere demagogues, and many of them hoped either for notoriety or gain. In the beginning they honestly demanded what they thought would bring relief at once. They wanted the Great and General Court removed from Boston, where they supposed it to be under the influence of that city. They wished all public securities, as well as all money in hand and at interest, to be taxed to produce a revenue. They demanded the reduction of all salaries. They claimed that land ought to be made a legal tender for debts, and that its price should be taken as it stood when the debt was incurred. They wished a check put on the growing

power of lawyers. What the debtors wanted, and they were 1786
by far the largest part of the community, was in some way to
be relieved, either by a partial or total extinguishment of their
indebtedness or plenty of time to pay it. Hence every law,
and every officer of the law whose business it was to collect
debts, was odious to them. Had it not been for the efforts of
moderate and sensible men holding high positions in different
parts of the State, who were determined to uphold the legally
constituted authorities and to obtain redress only by legal
methods, and who yet had so much sympathy with those who
wished to get relief by violent measures that they would counsel
and advise them before they committed acts of violence, and
when they had committed violent or unlawful acts would deal
as gently as was possible under the circumstances, there would
have been much more bloodshed added to the acts of violence
and rebellion. As it was, considering how many men who had
been in the War of the Revolution were among the rioters, it
is surprising that so few were killed. Prominent among the
men who advised the use of legal means before the breaking
out of the rebellion, and who entered the military service of the
State at once to help to put it down, was Major-General John
Paterson, who was as active before and after the rebellion as a
peacemaker as he had been as a soldier during its continu-
ance. It is surprising, notwithstanding the acts of violence
and bloodshed which were committed by the rioters, that dur-
ing the whole of the rebellion not only individuals, but the
General Court itself showed and expressed their sympathy for
the rioters. The sessions of the General Court were prolonged,
other business was put aside, members listened patiently to
and voted for measures for relieving, as far as they could, the
distress which caused the riots, and resolutions of sympathy
and amnesty for those misguided citizens who had implicated
themselves in the riots were everywhere passed. The rioters
were treated more like misbehaving children than offenders
against the law, and hence the continued offers of amnesty
made to them, and the constant appeals made by their friends
and neighbors who did not agree with them, not only for clem-

1786 eney, but for freedom from punishment, until it became evident toward the close of the rebellion that such offers were misguided so far as the leaders were concerned. Hundreds of citizens who, after they had committed violence, saw how useless and wrong this method of procedure was, accepted the amnesty and became good citizens, some of them becoming toward the close of the rebellion very efficient in helping to put it down.

There arose before the close of the war a party who publicly advocated the idea that the courts ought to be abolished. They were, they contended, only a rich man's remedy. They asserted that when they were abolished there could be no judgments, and that the result of such measures would be general prosperity. They stated that the only result of their shedding their blood in the Revolution had been to be imprisoned by the tax-gatherer at home, and to give to their creditors, who in many cases had never been in the war and sacrificed little or nothing for the country, the right to drag them from their homes to the court and from the court to the prison. Then they called county conventions based on an article of the Bill of Rights, which provides "that the people have a right in an orderly and peaceable manner to assemble to consult upon the common good, give instructions to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by way of addresses, provisions, and remonstrances, relief of the wrongs done them and of the grievances they suffer." This clause was undoubtedly intended to apply to town meetings, but it was made to serve as authority for less regular assemblies. The business of such conventions was to present grievances; and a great grievance was the commutation of the pay of the officers who had served during the Revolutionary War. A convention was called both in Suffolk and in Worcester counties in 1784, in which they not only condemned the acts of Congress, but voted that the sessions of the courts were grievances, and attempted to make an opposition legislature. As the multitude of civil suits* had increased the number of lawyers, they

* In 1784 there were more than two thousand actions, and in 1785 about seventeen hundred, in the county of Worcester alone.

asserted that this class of men ought to be abolished, and the 1786 people were urged not to elect them for public offices, as they brought the suits and were therefore the authors of their misfortunes. They so influenced the people that in 1786 the lawyers were to a large extent excluded from the legislature, and the House passed a law to admit all persons of good moral character to the practice of the law before the judicial courts, and fixing their fees.

In order to prevent the session of the court in Northampton, Samuel Ely, a minister who had been dismissed by a council on account of his moral and literary disqualifications for that office, had in April, 1782, incited a riot, the leaders of which were arrested. Ely was indicted and was condemned by the court of Northampton, and was released from prison in Springfield by the mob. The leaders were arrested and confined, and a similar attempt was made to release them, which might have resulted in much bloodshed but for the superior force which was called out against them.

This riot was taken by the General Court at its next session as an evidence that the people were in real distress, and in November, considering that the leaders had been sufficiently punished, they pardoned them all. The pardon was considered as a justification of their course by the rebels; so in May, 1783, they attempted to prevent the sessions of the courts in Springfield, but were not successful. A convention more peaceable in character was held at Deerfield on September 29, 1783, and they wanted for relief the division of the county or the removal of the courts to Springfield. The private creditor had been considered as an oppressor, and they commenced to ask themselves in what way the public and the private debts differed. If the private debt was a burden, was the public debt any less a hardship? They found that there was little difference in the moral obligation in either case. In a convention held at Hatfield on October 20th they declared that they could not pay private debts while public ones were so heavy, and with surprising unanimity they attacked the officers of the Revolutionary War—the very class which one would nat-

1786 urally have thought would have been the last. During the dark periods of the war Congress had promised half pay for life to those officers who would continue in the service. On March 22, 1782, it proposed to commute this half pay for life to full pay for five years, which was a very reasonable and just commutation of the half pay. In the minds of the people this payment created a privileged class who were better off than themselves, but who in their opinion deserved no more from the country than they did. Their resentment, therefore, fell on the very men to whom they should have been most grateful. To these, the salaried officers of the government and the lawyers, who were making a rich harvest in the courts, were added as among the privileged class, and they looked upon them all as assisting a condition of things which they considered unworthy of a free government.

The agitation which resulted, and the interest on the public debt, which from commutation of the officers' pay amounted to five millions of dollars, made the government securities fall to such a point that the notes given by the government in commutation of the life pay were not sufficient to cover the time of actual service. This aroused so much sympathy for the officers that the hostility was now transferred toward the banker or speculator who bought the notes, and it was gravely proposed to Congress to pay to the holder of a note becoming due, when not the person to whom it was issued, not the face value, but only what he had paid for it, and to give the balance to the original holder of the note. No action was taken by the legislature on such a preposterous proposition; but that it should have been presented at all showed the disturbed and distressed state of the public mind. They then requested the issue of paper money in large quantities without security, to be depreciated by law at a fixed rate, until, after a given period, it should be rendered entirely valueless. So wild a proposition failed in Congress, but it had many advocates.

There had been no provision for the amendment of the State Constitution until 1795, and the dissatisfied taught the people that that was too long to wait; that they had gone to war with

Great Britain for a less cause, and that now, as then, there was 1786
no redress except by revolution. They might easily have effected a change by a convention called by the people, but this was not what the leaders wanted. There were real grievances which could have been redressed, but the leaders wanted the abolition of the courts and reforms to be made without legal methods being used. They began by counseling violence, and then by the use of mob law. The dissatisfied began to call meetings in the towns to discuss their grievances; then more frequent conventions for the ostensible purpose of trying to find relief for their difficulties. These were at first quiet and lawful assemblies, but the constant reiteration of real or fancied wrongs made them at last violent. They ridiculed or denounced the officers of the law, and tried to make the government contemptible in the eyes of the people, and from this to open violence was but a short step.

The farmers thought trade should bear all the burdens of taxation, and that the land, which was almost the only producer, should be freed from taxes. The home-traders, as the medium of exchange between the farmer and the public, were sure that they should be relieved and the burden of the taxes be thrown upon some one else. Commerce to the farmer meant the importation of luxuries, for the idea was prominent then that the land should produce all that was needed for life and happiness, and what was not derived directly from it was not necessary, and therefore a luxury. During the war the fisheries, which previous to the war had brought in £167,000 annually, and which in the island of Nantucket alone employed one hundred and fifty vessels and twenty-five hundred men, had been neglected. At the time peace was declared the entire fleet consisted of only nineteen vessels. The farms could produce but little, as the men were in the army, and the women and children could not till the land on any large scale. The markets were to a great extent lost and must be regained; but the farmers saw only the absence of the market, and attributed all the evils to the luxury induced by the importation of foreign materials, which resulted in draining



1786 from the country the resources which might be used at home. By the law of July 3, 1782, known as the "Tender Act," private debts had the precedence over public ones, and were made payable in cattle or produce; the appraisement was to be made by impartial judges under oath. It was so drawn as to suspend suits for a period of twelve months. The idea of the originators was that it would prevent law-suits by making it possible to settle obligations in kind within a specified time, but its effect was to stimulate the antagonism between creditor and debtor and to stir up a strife between the rich and the poor.

Following the precedent set at Great Barrington in 1774, the dissatisfied commenced by impeding the administration of justice by preventing the assembling of the courts, on the ground that all their grievances and hardships arose from the decisions of these courts, and that they were justified in acting as they did by the example of their countrymen of years ago. But the successful obstruction of the courts in 1774 was not done until after repeated remonstrances had been made and every plan known for obtaining redress from the king and the royal governors had been tried; while these men obstructed the courts before any means of redressing their grievances, which were perfectly open to them and would have succeeded if properly begun, had been tried.

In the elections for the State legislature for 1786 the distress was used for personal and political ends. Men of experience and of conservative principles were defeated. They were replaced by those who knew nothing about government. Lawyers were defeated only because they were lawyers, and for no other reason. When the legislature assembled propositions of the most visionary character were made. It was recommended, among other things, to issue irredeemable paper money and to do other equally absurd and dangerous things, but they were fortunately voted down, and the legislature adjourned on July 15th without adopting any remedy. None had been seriously considered. The next step of the leaders was the calling of conventions to discuss their grievances, and

then to publish them to the people and make them call for redress. They commenced by advising against all resort to force and unlawful measures. The conventions were at first reputable gatherings of respectable people. Their fulminations, however, influenced the prejudices and excited the passions of the dissatisfied, which was undoubtedly the effect which most of the leaders wished to produce. From respectable gatherings they came to be not only irregularly called meetings, but tumultuous and unlawful assemblies. They incited to the use of mob law, and, if they did not council violence, produced it. The conservative and respectable people became so compromised by the dissatisfied that the meetings of both together were converted into a mere mob, and they acted as such. This increased the evils instead of diminishing them. The first convention called represented thirty-seven towns of Worcester County. It met at Leicester on August 15, 1786. Its very first act was to declare itself a lawful and constitutional assemblage. Eight causes of grievance were enumerated, which included the courts, the officers of the State, and the payment of the public debt. The conservative journals generally exposed the fallacy of the grievances and the unprincipled character of the leaders, but this produced but little effect on the people.

On August 22, 1786, a convention of fifty towns of Hampshire County, which at that time included Franklin and Hampden counties, was called at Hatfield, and passed in three days nineteen resolutions against the Senate, the courts, and almost all the forms of law, but advised the people to abstain from acts of mob violence. They resolved to publish their proceedings in other counties, and called on them also to hold conventions. The paper-money men were there in full force. The men who "had fought for liberty and meant to have it" were also represented. Their definition of liberty was, as given by one of themselves, "for every man to do as he pleases, and to make others do as you please to have them." They advocated the abolition of the courts, and voted themselves "a constitutional meeting." They advised the other counties to organize, and finished these proceedings by resolving that the people

1786 ought to abstain from all mobs or other unlawful assemblies. It is fair to suppose that their proceedings had been dictated by a sincere desire to obtain by legal measures the redress they wanted, since some of those who attended and took part in the proceedings were members of the legislature and others were held in high respect by their fellow-townsmen; but it is doubtful whether the majority did not mean open rebellion from the first, as all their proceedings were carried out in three days. This convention was held just before the sessions of the courts, and was intended to foster a feeling of contempt for them. When on the last Tuesday in August, four days after they adjourned, the courts were to sit in Northampton, fifteen hundred men—a motley array, some of them armed with sticks, clubs, bludgeons, and others with swords or muskets—assembled to prevent the session of the Court of Common Pleas. Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary Army of doubtful reputation, headed the insurgents. A large body also collected at Springfield to prevent the session of the court there. They forced it to adjourn to Northampton until the second Tuesday in November, but it never met again until May, 1787, and the debt repudiators thus celebrated a great victory over the law. The governor on September 2d called on all good citizens to put down such treasonable proceedings. The newspapers, the clergy, and nearly all the best citizens sided with the governor, but it was of little use. As soon as these disturbances commenced the local militia had been called out by the sheriff to protect the courts; but it was soon found that they could not be relied upon, as many of them sympathized with the rioters. The governor called the judges of the Supreme Court, the attorney-general, and others in council, and they determined to call out the State troops.

The excitement which was prevalent in Worcester and Hampshire counties, and which had also prevented the session of the courts there, spread very quickly to the other parts of the State. It went west to Berkshire and east to Middlesex and Bristol counties. The notice which had been taken of the convention in Hampshire and the notoriety produced for

its leaders emboldened them and encouraged their followers. 1786 While this was going on throughout the State a county convention was called to meet in Lenox during the last week of August. The people of Berkshire and the other counties of the State as well had always been used to open and free discussion. The town meeting had been their safety-valve, the county convention their strongest method of asserting their rights, and they had resisted from the very commencement any encroachment on them by the royal governors. When the Constitution of 1780 was proposed they discussed it, both before and after they adopted it, and in the six years since it had been in force had learned to have confidence both in the laws and the law-makers, since the law was dependent upon their own voices in the town meetings and their votes in elections. They had suffered too long from the use of violent means to willingly have recourse to them again, so that when the call came for a county convention they went to the polls almost to a man, and the majority of the towns elected as their representatives the moderate and conservative men. When the convention convened the malcontents were met by wise and able men, who were in the majority. They argued with the more impetuous on their own ground. They not only out-reasoned, but they out-voted them, so that this convention was not characterized by the violent and unreasonable acts which were so marked a feature of some of the others. They pledged themselves as a body in the most solemn manner to support the courts in the exercise of their legal powers and to endeavor to quiet the agitated spirits of the people. Among the most prominent of the conservatives in this convention was Major-General Paterson, who was then, as he always had been, one of the most strenuous in endeavoring to right wrongs by strictly legal methods. This convention undoubtedly prevented many dissatisfied persons in adjoining counties from joining the forces under the agitators, because it was made plain to them that their grievances could all be remedied by proper recourse to law, that the necessary legislation would take some time, and that the people had the power to act

1786 themselves through their properly constituted representatives.

On September 5th the judges at Worcester were prevented by three hundred armed men from holding court, which was to have been held in the court-house. A proclamation by the governor called on the people to sustain the courts. The chief-justice remonstrated with the rioters, but they forced the Court of Common Pleas to adjourn *sine die* and the Court of Sessions to adjourn to November 21st. The day after the convention at Hatfield a convention of representatives of a majority of the towns in Middlesex County was held, and adopted similar resolutions. The next attempt to prevent the sitting of the courts was at Concord on September 12th. The citizens on September 9th had protested against such disorderly proceedings, and the militia were called out by the governor on September 8th to defend the courts in Middlesex and Bristol; but on the representation of the people that they were not needed, the judges, fearing a popular attack, countermanded the order for the assembling of the militia for the protection of the courts, as the citizens agreed to protect them. The rioters, who were few in number, were so emboldened by this order that they surrounded and took possession of the court-house in Concord and threatened to kill all persons who did not join them. They were violent in their abuse of the courts and the judges, and allowed the court to sit only on the condition of its adjourning to a fixed date. The court left the town the same afternoon, and the rioters dispersed.

In Taunton, in the County of Bristol, the court was to assemble on the 12th. The chief-justice, General Cobb, had been a military officer of distinction during the Revolution, and was then a major-general of the State. He took possession of the court-house with a field-piece and thirty gentlemen volunteers. When the insurgents came up he told them that he would "sit as a judge or die as a general." Knowing that he would do as he said, they dispersed without preventing the session of the court; but in view of the great agitation it was deemed advisable to adjourn, and the court did so.

The resolutions of the Lenox convention so recently passed

did not restrain a mob of eight hundred men at Great Barrington, who prevented the session of the Court of Common Pleas and compelled three of the four judges to sign a paper that they would not act as a court until all the grievances had been redressed. They broke open the jail, set the prisoners free, and committed other acts of violence. The documents below, giving the orders of General Paterson and the account sent to the governor of the State, give the details of what happened :

* " LENOX, September 10, 1786.

"SIR: In consequence of special orders from the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this Commonwealth to me directed, requesting the Militia of this County to be called upon to support the Court which is to sit at Great Barrington on Tuesday next, you are therefore directed to order every (man) in your regiment to appear with their arms complete at Great Barrington on Tuesday next at 9 o'clock in the morning.

"N.B.—The alarm list to be excluded.

"I am, sir, your humble servant,

"JOHN PATERSON, Major-General,

"9th Division Militia.

"To Colonel Caleb Hyde."

Among others Colonel Ashley replied to this order from Sheffield :

† "SHEFFIELD, 1786.

"Gen John Paterson.

"In obedience to your orders I have called upon the several companies in the Regt. under my command for their respective quota of men. The number were without difficulty collected in this place. The ammunition will be expended by tomorrow evening. We wish for your directions in which manner they shall be supplied. Ammunition is also wanted for the troops from Sandisfield and New Marlborough.

"Yours respectfully

"JOHN ASHLEY

"To (Gen Paterson)"

"(Col)

Exactly what happened is given in the letter below :

‡ "LENOX 13th Septemr 1786.

"SIR: I am to inform your excellency as nearly as I can, of the transactions of stopping the Courts of General sessions of the Peace & Courts

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxi., p. 241.

† From MS. in possession of Mr. Wm. Benjamin.

‡ Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxc., p. 263.

1786 of Common Pleas in the County of Berkshire upon the 12th day of September instant.

"Previous to the day on which the Court were to set, there appeared to be great uneasiness among the people: & that large numbers were preparing to stop the Courts. I made every necessary preparation for supporting Government that lay in my power without calling out the Militia— On Saturday evening before the Courts were to set I received your Excellency's letter of the 2d of instant September— I immediately applied to Major General Paterson, consulted him & a number of other Gentlemen on the Subject of calling out the Militia under arms in Support of Government, it was agreed to call out the Militia. General Paterson issued his orders accordingly which I transmit a copy of. On Monday evening before the time of the Courts sitting, the Court house was filled with armed men in opposition to Government. On Tuesday evening the militia under the order of General Paterson marched into Great Barrington much the greatest part of which joined those in opposition to government at the Court House— by this time the Court arrived & seeing such an opposition to Law, recommended General Paterson to embody the men for the Courts sitting on one side & to have those against its sitting on the other side of the highway which was immediately done— about 150 or 200 men appeared for the Courts sitting & seven or eight hundred men were against it. Then the Court opened and adjourned without day, this step being taken raised the Spirits of the People against the Courts to such a Degree that they determined to bring the Judges to their terms, as they call— They immediately moved to Judge Whittings house where the Judges were—drew up an instrument or declaration for them to sign, the purport of which is that they would not act as Judges of the Court of Common Pleas until the Constitution of Government shall be revised or a new one made— Judge Whiting, Barker & Goodrich signed it, *Judge Woodbridge refused* & declared in preference to signing such a peice he would resign his Commission—

"Those people in opposition to Law proceeded to the Goal broke open the door, set the confined debtors at liberty, left the Town of Great Barrington the same day— in this disagreeable situation we now are— this I think to be a candid representation of the transactions of the whole matter relative to the Courts being stopped in the County of Berkshire

"Which is transmitted to your excellency by

"your most obedient & humble Servant

"CALEB HYDE *Sheriff*.

"His excellency

"JAMES BOWDOIN esqr."

In Boston, on September 11th, the citizens assembled and assured the governor in the most emphatic way that whatever

came they would support the legally constituted authorities. 1786
On the 20th of September four hundred armed men in New Hampshire surrounded the legislature, but were put down by the citizens. The General Court had adjourned from July, 1786, to the last of January, 1787, but such riots in Massachusetts and in New Hampshire caused the governor to call it earlier, and he had convened it for the 18th of October. He now determined to call it three weeks earlier.

In the meantime the rioters made up their minds to prevent the sessions of the Supreme Court at Springfield, which was to sit on September 26th. The insurgents determined that the court should not be held, as if it were they would be indicted for treason. The friends of law and order determined that the court should be held, and be protected in any event and at whatever cost. Both parties meant what they said. The governor ordered the court-house to be protected by six hundred men. On the day the court opened Daniel Shays, who had been a captain of doubtful reputation in the Revolution toward its close, though he had shown great personal bravery at Bunker Hill and Stony Point, who had for causes unknown resigned his commission, and was then bankrupt, appeared with an armed force. Shays demanded of the court that none of the late rioters should be condemned by it. The court replied that the judges would execute the laws. The court had assembled on Tuesday, and by Wednesday there were two thousand men under arms, and but little business could therefore be transacted. On Thursday, September 29th, the court adjourned. Before doing so it decided that it was not expedient to hold court in Berkshire County at that time, which the rioters interpreted as a great victory for them. The rioters, emboldened by their success, then determined to secure the federal arsenal at Springfield, but were dissuaded from attacking it, and after four days both parties left. The rioters, under pretense that the court intended to go to Great Barrington, notwithstanding their resolution not to do so, went there and committed a number of riotous acts. The governor called a special meeting of the legislature for

1786 September 27th to consider the disturbed state of public affairs. The town of Springfield instructed their representatives "to vote against any proposition for a paper currency, and when all that is possible has been done to relieve the *real* burdens, to state as clearly as possible what mistakes have been made, in order to remove the *imaginary* as well as the *real* grievances." When the legislature assembled the governor stated to them the facts in relation to the riots, and proposed the suppression of the rebellion. Conventions and towns presented their grievances, but the legislature determined to support the governor and to defend the sessions of the court at Cambridge, and did so. The governor ordered a parade of over two thousand troops in the town, which demonstration prevented the riots from taking place there. The rioters had demanded that the General Court should sit elsewhere than in Boston. The General Court voted that it would remove to some other place as soon as it could be done consistently with the public interest. On October 28th they proposed a law against riots and unlawful assemblies. The more conservative citizens wanted a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. The court considered it, but delayed action. The citizens became alarmed at what they considered unnecessary delay. This the rioters made the most of, and actually succeeded in convincing some worthy persons that a revolution was necessary in order to remove from their places men who only temporized with serious difficulties; so that the ranks of the rioters were increased by it. On October 23d a circular letter was sent by Shays to all the towns in Hampshire County, asking them "to see that the citizens be armed and that the militia be furnished with six hundred rounds of ammunition." The governor reported these facts to the General Court on November 7th as conclusive evidence that there was a serious and active rebellion. The danger was so great that the Superior Judicial Court was empowered to try all persons guilty of obstructing the administration of the laws, and on November 10th they suspended the *habeas corpus* act for eight months. In hopes of appeasing the rioters, all persons guilty of riot or

treasonable practices against the State from January 1st were granted a free pardon if they took the oath of allegiance. 1786

The amnesty offered having been rejected, warrants were issued for the apprehension of the leaders in Middlesex County, and a party of horse was ordered to start from Boston on November 29th to support the sheriff, and three of the leaders were arrested. After this Shays went to Rutland and remained there until December 30th, when he returned to Worcester.

The Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace had been adjourned in Hampshire County to December 26th, those in Berkshire to the first Tuesday in February, and those in Plymouth and Boston were also adjourned. This brought the first term of the court to Cambridge, which was protected, as described above, by being near Boston. The Court of General Sessions of the Peace sat at Worcester November 21st, which was a source of great grievance to the rioters. An address was sent out by the General Court to the people, which stated the amount of the Federal and State debts. The expenditures were carefully given and compared with those of the times of the provinces. The debt was shown to be comparatively small. It was made apparent that the complaints and acts of the rioters were likely to occur under any form of government, and the use of foreign luxuries was discouraged. The officers of the government and the people were called on to maintain the constituted authorities and the administration of justice. The General Court had thus done all that it could. It made taxes payable in specific articles, real and personal estate a tender for executions, and law procedure was made much less expensive. It adjourned on November 18th, sure that it had done all that it could and the people would be satisfied, but they did not vote sufficient money to meet the expenses of dealing successfully with the insurrection. The rioters ascribed all these acts to fear. They laughed at the offer of pardon, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* became a greater grievance than ever. Immediately after the adjournment of the General Court a convention was called at Worcester. On the 23d of November they

1787 sent an address to the people, in which all the acts, even the adjourning of the courts, which they had demanded, were held up as grievances, and these acts as bringing the court into contempt. When the Court of General Sessions of the Peace came to sit on the 22d in Worcester, as the government relied on the acts of the last General Court to appease the people, no precaution had been taken to protect it. One hundred and fifty men armed with hickory clubs and bayonets entered the town and billeted themselves on the people; they filled the court-house and would not allow the judges to enter, and prevented any business, either public or private, being done. The judges were obliged to sit in a tavern. On December 27th Shays, with three hundred and fifty men, prevented the session of the Court of Common Pleas in Springfield. The attack was so unexpected that the citizens, immediately after it happened, organized a strong military force for the purpose of defense. The governor did not hear of this attack until January 1st. As soon as he heard of these outrages he ordered the nine major-generals of the State to organize and equip the militia and take the field. Citizens in Middlesex County undertook to agree that no forces on either side should appear in Cambridge when the session of the court was to be held; but the insurgents would not agree to it, and they marched on Cambridge, but became discouraged and disheartened before they reached there.

The governor did not have the means of sustaining even a single regiment in the field, but the emergency was met by the capitalists and business men of Boston, who, realizing the danger, came forward with a loan to the State, trusting to future legislation to reimburse them. The loan was accepted, and orders issued for the raising and equipment of four thousand five hundred men. Public sentiment, as soon as these facts were known, changed at once and took the side of the law and order party.

The governor advised the judges of the courts at Worcester to adjourn them to January 23d, which they did. Shays by December 6th had collected about one thousand men; but as

the courts had adjourned there was nothing to do, and the 1787 agitation was transferred to Hampshire County; and on December 7th addresses were sent to the different towns, one by the "chairman of the Committee," and one by one of the leaders, reciting the grievances and asking for sympathy and support. The more reckless of the leaders hastened to march to Boston to release the imprisoned rioters, so that the governor ordered the troops of Middlesex County to be in readiness. The weather was very cold, and the action of the governor prevented the insurgents from going to Boston, so that they left Worcester on December 9th, Shays and a large body of men going to Rutland. They were not welcomed, and many froze or starved to death. They excited so much pity that Shays was asked if he would abandon the rebellion and retire if a pardon was granted to him, and he replied, "Yes, in a moment." One was made out, but no opportunity was found of delivering it to him. He subsequently determined to prevent the session of the courts at Springfield on December 26th. The agitation in Hampshire County, which had for some time been insurrectionary, now assumed the form of open rebellion. Shays marched into the town with three hundred men and took possession of the court-house and sent a petition to the court not to transact business, to which they perforce consented, and he left the court-house. On January 1st the governor heard that the insurgents were going to Worcester on the 23d, and he determined to support the courts there at any cost. Forty-four hundred men were ordered from five counties, together with four companies of artillery, to meet in Boston on the 18th and 19th of January, to be on duty for thirty days. The Hampshire quota of twelve hundred men was ordered to Springfield under General Shepard. The eastern militia were to meet in Roxbury and to join the Worcester forces at Worcester, which they did on the 22d, when order was restored. On the 12th of January the governor issued an address to the people, in which he stated the whole case impartially, asking the assistance of all good citizens in the Commonwealth. On the 19th of January, 1787, he issued orders

1787 to Major-General Lincoln, putting him in command of the military and empowering him, if he thought necessary, to call on the other major-generals for assistance. Besides this, the Council gave to the general the fullest possible powers. The appearance of a large armed force in the east had prevented any further demonstrations there, but the comparative immunity in the western part of the State made the insurgents there so bold that General Shepard was ordered to take possession of Springfield at once. Here he collected eleven hundred men to defend the town and the arsenal, which the men under Shays' command expected to seize on the 24th. Eleven hundred men were marshaled under Shays, who had just reached Wilbraham on his march from Rutland. A part of Lincoln's troops were less than two days' march in the rear of Shays. Four hundred men and boys, well armed and well drilled, were assembled on the western side of the river at West Springfield under Day. There was a good ice bridge over the river at the time, so that he was within easy reach of the arsenal. Four hundred more from Berkshire under Eli Parsons were at Chicopee in the northern part of the town. The insurgent force was nearly double that of General Shepard.

On his march toward Springfield General Lincoln wrote to General Paterson at Lenox :

"MARLBORO', Jan'y 22d, 1787.

"To Major General Paterson.

"SIR : You will before this have received the Governors orders to hold your Division in readiness to march on the shortest notice ; if in your opinion a body of four hundred men can be detached from your Division, without endangering the general interests, you will in that case immediately detach, to remain in service for the term of 30 days, unless sooner discharged, one Colonel, one Lt. Colonel, 1 Major, eight Captains, 16 Subalterns, thirty-two Sargents, thirty-two Corporals, four hundred rank and file ;—& direct them to rendezvous at such place as shall be most convenient within the limits of your own Division. If such rendezvous shall be nearer to Springfield than your own dwelling, you will in that case direct the Commanding Officer of the men detached to march to Springfield, the moment he shall receive information from General Shepard, that the Insurgents have embodied and march toward Worcester &

made it necessary he should follow them, & take possession of the public buildings & cover the magazine there, until further orders. In case you are nearer to Springfield than the place of Rendezvous, you will please on receiving information from General Shepard, that the Insurgents have embodied, & that he must follow them with his detachment, you will order the Regiment detached by you to march to Springfield & take possession of the public buildings, there, & remain as a cover to the magazine untill further orders; you will please to direct that your detachment march well-armed with flint-locks, whose Calibers shall carry as near as possible 18 balls to the pound, with bayonets, cartridge boxes & 30 rounds of cartridge, suitable to their fire-arms, blankets, carteens & havresacs with provision sufficient to supply them on the road to Springfield. You will please to cause that the Selectmen be reminded, of the several towns, of their obligations, by law to supply the men with Camp-Utensils, carriages & to forward provision to them untill they shall receive information from the Commissary General or his Deputy, that such supplies, are no longer necessary. You would have been early called upon for men, had it not been the opinion, of the Governor & Council, that you could not make a detachment from your Division, consistent with safety to the well-affected. I shall think myself obliged to you for such information of the movements of the Insurgents, as you think necessary for me to be acquainted with.

"I have the honor of being

"Dear Sir with real Esteem

"Your obedt. servt.

"B. LINCOLN."*

On the 23d he again writes:

"WORCESTER, Jan'y 23d, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: Should the Insurgents move in force from your County, to this side the river, you will please to follow them with as great a force, as you can draw from your Division, without leaving unsupported the well affected in your part of the Country; & to march to Springfield, & there unite your force with Major General Shepard, to cover the Magazine; and should the Insurgents move in any force, toward this quarter, or any other, you will with as great a body as you can spare with security to the Arsenal, progress after them.

"I have the honor of being

"Dear Sir with real Esteem

"Your obedt. servt.

"B. LINCOLN."†

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, Esq., of Boston.

† *Ibid.*

1787 Luke Day of West Springfield was undoubtedly the ablest of all the leaders of the rebellion. He had served honorably during the Revolution and had retired poor. He had been a captain, but was given the brevet rank of a major at the close of the war. He was a fluent speaker, and by constantly talking about his own and their "grievances" to his "fellow-sufferers" had convinced himself and them that there were some great wrongs to be redressed. He became popular with his townspeople and commenced to drill those who agreed with him, who were at first armed only with clubs, but afterward with muskets. By force of flattery from others and constantly hearing himself talk, he had become convinced that he had a great mission to perform. He was a man much superior to Shays, and it was only by an accident that he had not become the recognized leader of the rebellion. He clearly considered himself to be the superior man, and was undoubtedly so, and he evidently thought that the success of the present undertaking, of which he seemed to be certain, would be owing to his direction of it. He was, however, like many others before and since, a victim of the disease, or rather moral weakness, of "*cacæthes loquendi*." He kept the town in a constant state of alarm by seizing respectable citizens in their own houses, to be held as hostages and for purposes of retaliation.

Shays on the 24th sent a message from Wilbraham to Day, asking him to co-operate with him in an attack the next day at 4 A.M. Day replied that he could not do so on the 25th, but would do so on the 26th. This letter was intercepted by General Shepard, but Shays knew nothing of it. Day then sent a summons to General Shepard to surrender and disperse. The same day Shays sent a petition from Wilbraham to General Lincoln, who was two days' march distant, asking for a suspension of all hostilities until the next General Court could settle all their difficulties, which was evidently only a blind, as General Lincoln was still two days' march from Springfield. He did not wait for an answer. On the afternoon of the 25th Shays, in ignorance of the interception of his letter to Day, who evidently thought that he was going to capture the whole

command of General Shepard independently of Shays and 1787 wished to get the whole credit for it himself, was ordered by General Shepard, who had been notified of Shays' departure from Wilbraham, to fall back, but his reply was that they intended to take the barracks, and he marched to within two hundred and fifty yards of it. General Shepard sent a messenger to Shays informing him that he was posted where he was by the orders of the governor and of Congress, and again ordered him to fall back, stating that if he did not do so at once he should fire on him. Some old army comrades went out to meet Shays and advised him to lay down his arms and abandon his treason, but though he received them pleasantly he declined to stop. As he still advanced, the general ordered his troops to fire the cannon, but over the heads of the insurgents, and two volleys were so fired; but this only increased their confidence, and they continued to advance. A discharge of artillery fired low sent his men flying in all directions without firing a single shot, crying, "Murder!" from their rear, and leaving three of their number dead upon the field. The precipitate retreat of the insurgents, which Shays was unable to stop until they had gone more than ten miles, stopped the affray. They were not pursued, as the object was to terrify rather than to kill the rebels. This ended what might have been a most disastrous conflict. Shays had the larger number of men, but was very poorly officered. General Shepard had an inferior number, but was very well officered.

How near this movement of the rebel leader came to being successful is shown by an extract from a letter of General Schuyler to Henry C. Van Schaack, then a resident of Pittsfield, dated February 7th:

"Mr. Shays seems to me to want a good head: I think he should not have appeared in the vicinity of General Shepard without having first concerted with his other leaders a plan of attack. To leave that adjustment to the last moment was injudicious, and with irregular troops it seems to me that he should have attempted to dislodge General Shepard at the dawn of day; but *tant mieux pour nous*, for Heaven only knows what would have been the consequence if Shays had gained a victory."

1787 The result of the conflict might have been very different had they really fought, and if Shays had taken the arsenal there is no doubt but much blood would have been shed. General Shepard feared another attack, but the men under Day did nothing. He was intensely irritated at the failure, and remained at West Springfield entirely inactive. On the 27th the troops of General Lincoln arrived. There was then no further danger of an attack upon General Shepard, but Day was cut off from communications with the west and Shays with the north. Notwithstanding the cold and fatigue of his troops, who were weary from their long march, General Lincoln ordered the army under arms at 4 P.M. on the 27th—the day he arrived—after a rest of only one hour. He went over on the ice to capture Day, who hastily retreated. His flight left his men to shift for themselves, and they offered little resistance, but retreated north so hastily that they left their half-cooked meals on the fire and their bread in the ovens and ran, leaving the road to Northampton strewn with their muskets and knapsacks. His junction with Shays was prevented by General Shepard. In the meantime General Lincoln had marched to capture Shays, who fled to Amherst in such confusion that his party mistook their own rear-guard for the soldiers of General Lincoln. As the result of this victory, the Middlesex militia, two thousand in number, who were entering Worcester, were ordered back. They had produced all the effect that was necessary by the exhibition of their military power. Shays, who went plundering provisions, fled to Pelham and took shelter among the hills. It was found that in his retreat he had carried many men from the town and ten sleigh-loads of provisions with him. A small party of General Shepard's men who had been captured were retaken, with fifty-nine of the insurgents and nine sleigh-loads of provisions. On January 30th General Lincoln sent a letter to Shays, demanding surrender. Shays replied, asking that both of the armies remain where they were, pending a presentation of the difficulties to the General Court. This was followed by a letter from three other of Shays' leaders. On the

31st General Lincoln replied that he could not admit their 1787 claims, and ordered them to disband under risk of being immediately attacked, but offered pardon to privates and non-commissioned officers who would lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance. The time had arrived for the General Court to assemble, but affairs were in such confusion that the members could not be collected until February 3d, the fourth day after the day to which they had adjourned. The governor rehearsed the situation to them.

There was considerable delay in reaching the business of the session, because petitions for the redress of all kinds of grievances were sent in from many different towns who commenced to see that their cause was hopeless. After some discussion they declared a state of rebellion to exist, approved of the action of the governor and of General Lincoln, voted the supplies necessary for the army, empowered the government to pardon privates and non-commissioned officers on condition of giving up their arms and swearing the oath of allegiance. A petition from Shays, dated Pelham, January 30, 1787, was received, which was really in the shape of a claim for a treaty backed by two thousand men, in order to get advantageous terms for themselves, and the court declared that it could not be received. Shays, afraid of further desertions of his men, did not wait at Pelham to hear the result of the court's decision, but marched to Petersham on February 3d, as a number of the towns in that vicinity had promised to support him. An officer of his the same day asked an interview with an officer of the army with a view to obtaining pardon for all the principals, but did not wait for an answer. General Lincoln heard of the march to Petersham the same day at noon at Hadley. It was supposed at first that this was only a feint, but orders were at once given for the army to be ready to march at a moment's notice with three days' provisions. Intelligence was received at 6 P.M. which made it certain that Shays' movement was a retreat, and the necessary orders were issued at once to march, and at 8 P.M., January 27th, the army moved. The weather was very cold when they

1787 started. At 2 A.M. a violent wind, with a snow-storm, arose. It was so bitterly cold that they had to march, for their only safety was in motion. They marched the whole distance, thirty miles, to Petersham, which the advance reached at 9 A.M. the next morning, the rear being five miles distant. The insurgents in the meantime were housed and warm, and felt perfectly secure. The surprise was complete. They abandoned the town by the back road in complete confusion, hardly firing a gun. They were pursued about two miles, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners, but no blood was shed. Shays with three hundred of his men retreated to Winchester, New Hampshire. Others, including the principal officers, fled into New York and Vermont, while some, convinced that the cause was hopeless, went back to their own homes. The privates among the prisoners were disarmed, and those who took the oath of allegiance received passports to return to their several towns.

He immediately wrote to General Paterson countermanding his instructions of January 22d and 23d :

"SPRINGFIELD, Jan'y 28th, 1787.

"To Major General Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to inform you, from the dispersed state of the Insurgents, a greater force, than are now on the ground, will be unnecessary. You will therefore please to suffer your troops to return, & if their remaining in arms should not be necessary to preserve the peace of your own county, you will suffer them to return to their several homes. I expect that we shall soon move a considerable force, which came on with me, into your County. If the whole of the troops should not be with you, you will send a copy of this letter to them, with orders for them to return also.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." *

In the meantime the insurgents in Berkshire County were becoming troublesome. General Paterson did not always find himself supported by the majority, and wrote to General Lin-

* Collection of S. T. Crosby, Esq., of Boston.

coln for instructions and reinforcements. The letters and replies are given below : 1787

"STOCKBRIDGE, January 29, 1787.

"SIR : This morning I had the pleasure to receive your favor of yesterday by Mr. Cook, my express. I most sincerely congratulate you on the happy prospects which are before us in aristocraton of legal and constitutional Government. There have been some days, and indeed ever since I have been here, a number of men hovering around me, threatening my troops and annoying the peaceable inhabitants. I this afternoon have formed an expedition against them, which has been executed with success. I have in my possession eighty-four prisoners, and the residue of the party are wholly dispersed. It has been this evening in contemplation with a number of gentlemen to apprehend the leaders of the insurrection who have dared to stimulate to rebellion the ignorant and thoughtless, but feared to risk their own persons in the conflict ; but it is thought prudent to omit it, until your Honor arrives with the power of Government. General Rossiter, who is a virtuous citizen, a good officer, and has been serviceable in the business of this day, will have the honor to hand you this, and every information you may need he is capable of communicating.

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

"Your obedient servt,

"JOHN PATERSON.

"N.B.—If you should find it consistent with your plans and circumstances to send on a body of troops from your Command to this County, I wish it might be done immediately, as you are sensible we have hitherto been much the weakest party, and perhaps the business of this day will raise the spirits of the Insurgents, to the disadvantage of some good people.

"I have three hundred men or upwards in good spirits, shall be obliged to keep them embodied until your troops arrive. Captain Bacon, who accompanies General Rossiter, is a respectable gentleman and a staunch friend to Government.

"JOHN PATERSON. *

"STOCKBRIDGE, January 29, 1787.

On the 31st, finding that the insurgents from different parts of the country proposed to make a junction and attack in a body, he wrote again to General Lincoln :

"To General Lincoln :

"STOCKBRIDGE, January 31, 1787.

"SIR : The desperation of the factions in this County against Government has induced a kind of frenzy, the effects of which have been a most

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxc., p. 338.

1787 industrious propagation of falsehood and misrepresentation of facts, and the consequent agitation of the minds of the deluded multitude.

"Last night, by express from several parts of the County, I am informed of insurrections taking place. My only security under present circumstances will be attempting to prevent a junction of the insurgents, which probably cannot be effected without the effusion of blood; to extricate me from this disagreeable situation, therefore, I pray you, Sir, to send to my aid a sufficient force to prevent the necessity of adopting that measure.

"I am, Sir, with much Esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN PATERSON, Major-General." *

In reply to General Paterson's first letter General Lincoln replied by courier, congratulating him and giving special directions for the treatment of his prisoners:

"HADLEY, January 31, 1787.

"*To Major-General Paterson.*

"DEAR SIR: I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favor of the 29th. I congratulate you on our late success. I have no doubt but we shall have it in our power in a short time to disperse the people now in arms against the Government, and that if the Legislature in their present session shall act with decision and firmness we shall effectually crush the present Rebellion. Whether this is done or not must depend upon the General Court, for if they should not declare a rebellion to exist and make provisions to keep up a force until the heads of the insurgents and their abettors are apprehended, tried, and punished, these Counties will be in a more miserable state than before, for I have no doubt if the Insurgents were now dispersed and we returned that they would again embody, in which case our friends would be more exposed than ever.

"If among the insurgents there are any youth or simple men in years, who, from the want of the means of information or from the want of abilities to apply to right objects the information they do receive, such persons I think might be permitted to return to their several homes, after giving up their arms (such men ought not at present to hold them) & taking the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth.

"Those of another Class who have known better than they have acted & are now so convinced of their error, as that their liberation, under bond, may not be dangerous to the well affected, they I think might also be liberated on taking the oaths; There are another class, who, I think

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxc., p. 339.

should be committed by a warrant from a Justice of the Peace being too inimical to be at large. 1787

"I am fully in sentiment with you, that you should not at present, attempt the arresting the most dangerous characters.

"Shays has pushed himself into Pelham where he has the strongest ground. I hope however that we shall have it in our power soon to dislodge him: it would be too great a division of our force to detach at present; the earliest opportunity will be embraced for doing it.

"You must I think be perfectly secure by keeping your men together as the Insurgents cannot now collect in force without your knowledge & may be taken in detachment.

"You may assure all the privates in your division that if they will surrender themselves, give up their arms & take the oath of allegiance to the State before some Justice of the Peace in your County that they will be recommended to pardon

"I have the honor of being

"Dear Sir with real Esteem

"Your obedt Serv

"To Genl Paterson."

"B. LINCOLN.*

As General Paterson's second letter made it necessary for General Lincoln to change his plans, he wrote to the governor as follows:

"HEAD QUARTERS HADLEY, Feby 1, 1787.

"DEAR SIR: I have just now been honored with the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 25th Ult^o

"Since mine of the 30th Ult^o by Mr Rice I have rec'd two letters No 1 & No 2 from Genl Paterson; they with my answers No 3 & No 4 I have the honor of enclosing. I have daily addresses from Towns, paper No 5 is one from Granby, since that I have rec'd the doings of a town meeting in New Braintree paper No 6 is an answer to those Towns & the spirit of my answers to others: Paper No 7 is an application from Shays; No 8 is my answer.

"I wait with a degree of impatience for such weather as will permit my reconnoitering Shays' post, which as I observed before is a very strong one; every exertion will be made to bring this matter to a happy close.

"I am dear Sir with sentiments of esteem

"Your Excellency's most obedient Servant

"B. LINCOLN.†

"His Excellency Governor Bowdoin."

* Collection of S. T. Crosby, of Boston, and Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 342.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 347.

1787 On the receipt of General Paterson's second letter, General Lincoln replied as follows:

"HEAD QUARTERS, HADLEY, Feby 1, 1787.

"DEAR SIR: I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favour of yesterday's date.

"Before you receive this you will probably receive mine by General Rossiter, in it I have fully expressed my sentiments relative to the importance of your preventing a junction of the men in arms against Government & that I could not at present make any detachments, the great object I have in view is to disperse Shays: this I hope & expect soon to do. Should you find your Insurgents assembling in such force as to endanger your situation, you had better fall this way; for if you cannot maintain your ground, you cannot give protection to our friends should you attempt it, if you should progress this way we shall soon form a junction, & bear down the opposition instantly

"I expect that we shall soon be placed respecting the controversy on very different grounds. The Legislature I am confident will immediately declare a rebellion to exist which will remove that delicacy which now in a degree, fetters all our movements. If in any of your marches the insurgents should attempt to obstruct your movements in order to apprehend any of these parties, you have a right to fire upon them; of their danger I would first warn them.

"Lest my letter of yesterday may have fallen into improper hands, I now enclose a copy of it.—

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt Servt

"B. LINCOLN.*

"Genl Paterson."

On February 5th Governor Bowdoin wrote to General Lincoln sending him a copy of the declaration that rebellion existed in the commonwealth and of the resolves passed by the legislature. He notified him that twenty-three hundred men were to *rendezvous* at Worcester, under Major-General Brooks, on the 10th. "You will please order them," he wrote, "to gather the three hundred men from the fourth division to operate in such a manner as you may think proper. Colonel Hall, on his arrival, informed me that you had ordered two

* Collection of S. T. Crosby, of Boston, and Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 345.

regiments from the 3d division, but General Brooks thinks, 1787 from his knowledge of those regiments, that few of the privates belonging to them would be assembled. As the proceedings of the General Court may produce some powerful and desperate efforts on the part of the insurgents, and as it now becomes essential to the dignity and safety of the government effectually to crush the insurrection, I have thought best to order an additional force, which from seventeen hundred has become twenty-six hundred, in consequence of a conference which I had this evening with a committee of the General Court, who signified their idea that it would be proper to enlarge the number."

The defeat at Springfield and the surprise of the retreating insurgents at Petersham by General Lincoln, who with an army of eastern militia was sent by Governor Bowdoin to restore public order, broke the heart of the rebellion; but there was still a considerable number of men in Berkshire who had not been able to join Shays on account of the rapid movements of General Lincoln, and who now determined to act for themselves and call off the troops from the east by making demonstrations in their own county. They determined to occupy the mountains between the two counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, where there are plenty of positions easily defended, from whence they could raid the adjacent towns and secure hostages at will.

Being informed of this state of things, General Paterson had raised a body of five hundred men, consisting of the most respectable people of the county, many of the most prominent citizens being willing in the public defense to serve in the ranks in their own and the public cause. This was but a small force to serve all over the county against a force of lawless men who were always changing their position, and who, recognizing no legal authority, were raiding, robbing, and murdering wherever they found an opportunity. He had also earnestly entreated assistance from General Lincoln, who had promptly responded by making his headquarters at Pittsfield. General Paterson's letter is given on the next page:

1787

"LANESBOROUGH, February 5, 1787.

"To Major-General Lincoln :

"DEAR SIR: Having intelligence on Wednesday last that a party of insurgents were collecting at a place called Stafford's Hill at the south part of Adams, I thought it my duty to move the troops under my command toward them. That evening I arrived at Pittsfield, and, seeing me determined to come toward them, they decamped from their situation with a declared intention of collecting their forces the next day at the south end of Williamstown. Convinced that my safety depended on the rapidity of my movements, on Friday I marched toward the intended place of rendezvous of the enemy. A small party had collected, who immediately dispersed at my approach. On Saturday I returned to this place, where I have been informed that the insurgents are collecting at the southeast and southwest corners of the county. A man by the name of Bishop was taken prisoner, and this day released in Partridgefield by a party under command of Major Wiley of about thirty-five men (whom his followers called General), who said he was then pointing his course toward Washington, where he was to be met by a party of two hundred more, who had marched from this county and who had not been able to make their way to Shays by reason of the force of Government which lay in their way. From Sandisfield I am informed, and by gentlemen upon whom I depend, that about forty men had marched from that town and were progressing toward the same place. Mr. Hurst, a gentleman of veracity and judgment, was this day made a prisoner by that same party, then increased to four hundred men. I am further assured that a man who principally directs the movements of the insurgents in this county has been some days since in the State of New York, endeavoring by the propagation of every falsehood he could invent to arouse the inhabitants to reinforce his party here.

"I have thought it my duty thus to detail to you my real situation, and I am certain that, if in your power, you will immediately dispatch a body of men from those under your command to my aid. Should this not be the case, I would suggest to your consideration the propriety of making a detachment from the body of militiamen under command of General Shepard.

"I am, sir, with much esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN PATERSON, *Maj.-Gen.*

"To Honble Majr Genl Lincoln.

"P.S.—To-morrow I shall move to Lenox, where I shall possess the most eligible situation in which either to defend myself or prevent a junction of the enemy. Should I find them collected in a situation in which I shall judge it practicable to attack them with a probability of success, I shall not wait the determination of the General Court determining that

they are in a state of rebellion to consider them as such, and act accordingly with your troop, and pray you to forward ammunition, which is much wanted, especially balls." *

The following is the duplicate of the above letter sent later :

"LANESBOROUGH, 5 Feby 1787.

"DEAR SIR: Having intelligence on Wednesday last that a party of the insurgents were collecting at a place called Staffords Hill at the south end of Adams, I thought it my duty to move the troops under my command toward them. That evening I arrived at Pittsfield. Perceiving me determined they decamped from their situation with a declared intention of meeting the next day at the south end of Williamstown. Convinced that my safety depended on the rapidity of my motions, on Friday I marched toward their intended place of rendezvous, a small party had collected there. who on my approach immediately dispersed. On Saturday I returned to this place. Here I have been informed that the insurgents are collecting at the southeast and southwest corners of the county. A Mr. Bishop was taken prisoner by a party of about 85 men, under the direction of Major Wiley, whom his followers stiled General, who said he was then pointing his course toward Washington, where he was to be joined by 200 men who had marched from this county, with an intention to join Shays but had not been able to effect their purpose. From Sandisfield I am informed by gentlemen on whose representation I fully rely, that about 40 men had marched from that town and were progressing toward the same place of rendezvous. Mr. Hurst, a Gentleman of character, and with whom I have conversed, was made to-day a prisoner by this same party then increased to about 100 men. I am further assured that a man who principally directs the movements of the insurgents in this county has been some days since in the State of New York endeavoring by the propagation of every falsehood he could invent to rouse the people there to reinforce his party.

"Thus I have thought it my duty to detail to you my real situation, and I am certain if in your power you will detach immediately to my aid a body of the Troops under your immediate command. Should this not be in your power I beg leave to suggest to your consideration the propriety of detaching a part of the Hampshire militia under the comand of General Shepard.

"Thus far is a duplicate of what I sent you this morning. Since then I am arrived at Lenox. Since I came here videttes whom I had sent for that purpose report that Wiley has taken post at Washington and they report that their force is composed of considerable numbers.

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 355.

1787 "This letter will be handed you by Mr. Brown who can inform you of any particulars of which you wish to enquire.

"I am Dear Sir,

"With much esteem,

"Your most obed. Servt.

"*The Hon M.-Genl. Lincoln.*" *

"JOHN PATERSON.

On the receipt of this letter General Lincoln determined to march to Berkshire at once. He wrote on February 6th to the governor† of his change of plans, and started for Berkshire. In the meantime the couriers had carried several letters between the two generals, which are given below. He wrote at once in reply to General Paterson:

"PETERSHAM, Feb'y 6th, 1787.

"*To Major General John Paterson.*

"DEAR SIR: I have been honoured with the receipt of your favor of yesterday's date.

"Shays, Saturday afternoon left Pelham; in the evening I received information of his movements, put the Troops in motion, & arrived here on Sunday morning, at 5 o'clock.

"Upon our approach, he left this place, in a very precipitate manner, —150 fell into our hands; he moved thro' Athol Northerly; the last information I had of him was near Chesterfield, in the State of New Hampshire, with about 100 men; the rest are dispersed, & many returned to their homes; this gives me an opportunity to remove as fast as possible toward you.—I shall commence my march for Hadley, to-morrow morning: No time will be lost in throwing a very sufficient force into your County. I shall have the pleasure to come with the Troops.

"The General Court have conducted with great spirit & dignity—they have fully approved the measures taken; they will provide for the expense of them; they have declared a Rebellion to exist, & have ordered the Governor to keep up a force untill the Rebellion is fully crushed. Take some strong post, if you consider yourself in danger, untill I can relieve you. Should you think it advisable to attach the Insurgents, prior thereto; warn them of their danger, & that the General Court has declared a Rebellion to exist, & that if they do not surrender, they will be considered as open Enemies, & treated as such.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." ‡

* From collection of Z. T. Hollingsworth, of Boston.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 358.

‡ Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

General Paterson could not implicitly rely upon the militia 1787 which the law placed under his command, for a large majority of them had in the beginning of the conflict sympathized with, aided, and abetted the opposition to the government; but when it came to armed rebellion many of them had yielded to their sober second thought. This change in the position of the better class of those who had favored the agitation in its earlier stages was due in part to their own observation of what it threatened against society and the country, but it was also largely aided by several gentlemen of influence, who went from town to town calling attention to the dangers with which it threatened the commonwealth; and of these General Paterson was one of the most influential, especially among those who had served with him in the war. The change, however, was not extensive enough for him to rely upon it for restoring order in the county, and hence his appeal to General Lincoln. That it was not unnecessary was proved by the later outrages at Stockbridge upon the Rev. Mr. Skeeel at Egremont, and in other places by an inroad of Shays' men from New York.

The news of the affair at Petersham reached the General Court on February 6th. It gave great encouragement to the friends of good order, but the court hesitated to authorize the countermanding of the order for the two thousand six hundred men; but on further information on February 8th they reduced the number to one thousand five hundred, to be enlisted for four months. They requested the governor to offer a reward of £150 for the arrest of any of the leaders of the rebellion, and desired him to ask the governors of the other States to do the same. They complimented General Lincoln for his march from Hadley to Petersham. The insurgents now changed their tactics and commenced attacks by small bodies by surprises, attended with robbery and murder. On February 16th amnesty was again offered, but this time they were required to lay down their arms and take the oath, and were required to keep the peace for three years, during which time they were not to be allowed to vote, to hold any office, nor to serve the State in any capacity nor receive any honor or emolument that the State could grant, unless by the 1st of

1787 May, 1788, they could satisfy the General Court of their unqualified support of the government. The governor was given power to dispense with the whole or any part of the conditions in favor of any one who, having taken up arms against the government, volunteered for its support before the 1st of February, and to all persons who had accepted the conditions of General Lincoln offered on the 29th and 30th of January. This law caused more than twenty of the towns to petition for the pardon of all State prisoners and the recall of the army. They promised that the rebels were now repentant, and would cease from any acts of rebellion; but while they were making these promises General Lincoln sent letters representing the malignant acts of the rebel marauding parties, which stopped all opposition to it in the General Court, and the bill was passed.

When the rebels fled from Petersham on February 4th General Lincoln dismissed three companies of artillery, ordered three regiments to Worcester, and started for Northfield, to which place the fugitives had fled. An express from General Paterson in Berkshire with the letters cited above changed his plans. The rebels there who had not been able to join Shays took up arms in that county. Five hundred of the best citizens organized themselves under General Paterson to oppose them. The rebels assembled at West Stockbridge under Hubbard, who had one hundred and fifty to two hundred men. The forces were sent against them. The advance was fired on. On the demand of some of the gentlemen who were known to them that they should lay down their arms, some of them did so and the others fled. Two of the rebels were killed, and Hubbard and eighty-four men were taken prisoners. Most of these after being disarmed took the oath and went home. The rebels collected again at Adams but fled at General Paterson's approach to Williamstown, and on his appearing there they were dispersed and fourteen of their number were captured. They were determined to prevent the sitting of the courts, and were collecting in such numbers, and so large a body were actually on their march toward the town of Washington, un-

der a Major Wiley, as to make General Paterson's situation 1787 unsafe; and he therefore sent an express to General Lincoln for assistance. General Lincoln immediately started for Berkshire, passing through Amherst, Hadley, Chesterfield, Partridgefield, Worthington, Peru, Hinsdale, and Dalton to Pittsfield. Another division under General Shepard marched there by a different route. On February 10th he wrote to General Lincoln:

"SHEFFIELD, Feb'y 10th, 1787.

"DEAR SIR: I have this moment heard that Wiley was yesterday at Green river, trying to collect men to assist in opposition to Government, and that he had procured a party, how many he does not know to join him, he gave out that his intention was to attack this party, part of his men were on this side of the line, & he with another part on the other side, the person who brought this intelligence is recommended to me as a man of truth.

"I am with esteem

"Your obedt. servt.

"JOHN PATERSON.

"Honble Genl Lincoln, Pittsfield." *

In the meantime General Lincoln wrote to him:

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 12th, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: Your favor of yesterday's date came to hand about 5 o'clock this morning.

"Two of our Regiments arrived here yesterday, in the storm, exceedingly fatigued, the other is not up, which prevents their marching again this morning. I would have sent you some relief by sleighs but they and many of our people are out, & have been so all night, in order to apprehend some particular characters. Besides if the Rebels should attack at the time you supposed they would do it, I know that a reinforcement could not reach you; I intend to-morrow morning to move one of our Regiments toward you. Should there be any appearances which shall make it indispensable to your safety, I will attempt to succour you before.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir, with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." †

* From the collection of Grenville Kane, Esq., of New York.

† Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

1787 Two hundred and fifty rebels had in the meantime collected in Lee to prevent the sitting of the courts. Three hundred citizens assembled to protect the courts. The rebels dispersed on the promise of the commander of the militia that he would have them tried at home if arrested. When the army arrived in Pittsfield a party was dispatched to Dalton and another to Williamstown to arrest Wiley. Both parties returned the next day, the first one having taken Wiley's son and six prisoners. Wiley escaped. The other party took fourteen, and had one man wounded. General Paterson had written for reinforcements, to which General Lincoln replied as below :

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 12th, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favor of this date, our men are now in the Regiment. Col. Woods will march for your part of the County in the morning. By the many people who have this day arrived I have little reason to believe that any party will attempt your force to-day; the earliest succour will be given you.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." *

While the army was in Berkshire marauding parties in the county of Worcester commenced to arrest travelers and to go plundering through the county, constantly insulting the friends of the government, in order to distract the attention of the forces in the west and partly to satisfy their own desires for disorder. When this was learned at Worcester, a party of one hundred and fifty in sleighs and on horseback started to capture them. When the insurgents learned of it they left their quarters and went some little distance, secreted themselves behind stone walls, and fired on the militia and then fled to the woods. Two of the militia were wounded. The rebels were pursued to Rutland in Worcester County, where they were dispersed and four of them captured.

On February 15th Eli Parsons, a very truculent person, who

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

led some four hundred Berkshire men in Shays' army, and who was one of those who found a hiding-place among the hills, issued an address to his "friends and fellow-sufferers in the lower counties," stating that he was collecting reinforcements from New York and Vermont, and beseeching the friends to assert their rights. The sanguinary character of this manifesto is shown by the last paragraph, which is given below :

"The first step I would recommend is to destroy Shepard's army ; then proceed to the county of Berkshire, as we are now collecting in New Lebanon in York State and Pownal in Vermont State, with a determination to carry our point if fire, blood, and carnage will effect it. Therefore we beg that every friend will immediately proceed to the county of Berkshire and help us Burgoyne Lincoln and his army."

On February 16th General Shepard, with warrants from the proper authority, sent a party into Vermont to arrest Parmenter, one of the leaders, but they were met by such hostile assemblies that they were obliged to return to Massachusetts. They afterward succeeded in arresting the whole party, including Parmenter, who was tried and convicted of treason. They lost only one of their number. The period for which the militia were called out had expired on February 1st, and the new troops not having arrived in any large number, and General Lincoln being left with only about thirty men, the rebels determined to seize him and other persons, but put it off until the troops arrived and it could no longer be done. The turn that public opinion was taking at this time is well illustrated by the letter given below :

"RICHMOND, Feb. 22, 1787.

"Hon. Maj. Gen. Lincoln.

"SIR : Capt. Wood proposes to make application to your honor in behalf of Roswell Turner, now a soldier in his Co. for his arms which were delivered up to Capt. Longfellow, when he was in this town. He lived in West Stockbridge, where the poisonous infection spread, & being young & ignorant, was easily influenced. He soon realized his fault & swore the oath of allegiance, and will most cheerfully employ his arms in the defense of the Government.

"I am yours etc.

"NATHANIEL BISHOP."

1787 The rebellion had now taken the shape of raids from neighboring States. The General Court therefore instructed the governor to write to the governors of all these States, offering a reward for the capture of the rebels, and requesting them to take means to prevent their receiving supplies. The governor of Rhode Island replied on the 15th of February and promised to act, but did nothing; but the Assembly by a large majority refused to act, and allowed one of the rebels a seat in its chamber. The governor of Connecticut replied on the 20th, offering every assistance, issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of the rebels, and forbidding aid and comfort to be given to them. In May the Assembly passed a resolution ordering the arrest of persons inciting to rebellion, and they were arrested and imprisoned. In New Hampshire, where the legislature was not in session, the governor and council ordered the arrest of persons inciting to rebellion, and gave the major-general orders to arrest all armed parties coming into the State from other States. No answers were received from New York or Vermont.

In order to provide against these raids General Lincoln wrote to General Paterson as follows:

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 21, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: You will please to raise immediately, to remain in service for the space of ten days, unless sooner discharged—

Cap.	Sub.	Ser.	Cor.	D. & F.	Private.
4	6	16	16	4	200

cause one hundred to rendezvous at Sheffield on the twenty-third, there to remain for a cover to that & the neighboring Towns:—the other to rendezvous in this town on the same day.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." *

General Paterson sent dispatches to General Lincoln notifying him of the approach of the rebels:

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

"LENOX, Feb. 25th, 1787. 1787

"DEAR SIR: The bearer, Mr. Bennett, I have directed to wait on you with Col. Ashley's letter to receive your orders.

"I am with respect & esteem

"Your obedient servant

"JOHN PATERSON.

"To Hon. M. Gen. Lincoln." *

On February 26th the people of the town of Richmond wrote to General Lincoln at Pittsfield that the insurgents were collecting forces in New York State.

"Feb. 26th, 1787.

"*Selectmen of Richmond*

"To Gen. Lincoln, at Pittsfield.

"By intelligence this moment rec'd from New Canaan, the insurgents collected in N. York State have paraded & marched in 3 Divisions. 120 was counted bet. 10 and 12 this evening in 1 Div. marching toward this County. We are much alarmed at this Military appearance & think it our duty to give your Honor this, and every information that threatens so immediate destruction. We are your most obed. Servants

"JOS RAYMOND.

"BENJ. PIERSON & WM. BARNS." †

On February 26, 1787, eighty to ninety men under Captain Perez Hamlin came into Berkshire from New York State, pillaged Stockbridge, took some of the principal men prisoners, and marched with their prisoners and booty to Great Barrington. They broke open the jail and set the prisoners free, and marched to Sheffield. They were met on the 27th on the western boundary of the town by eighty men under Colonel Ashley, who gave them battle, and here the severest engagement of the rebellion took place. Two of the rebels were killed, and a third died of his wounds. Thirty, including Hamlin, their leader, were wounded, and a large number were taken prisoners. Of Colonel Ashley's forces two were killed and one was wounded. One of the killed was a prisoner in the hands of the rebels. He was killed by the fire of the militia, for to screen themselves the rebels put their prisoners in front. General Paterson did not arrive in time for the action,

* From MS. in possession of Mr. Wm. Benjamin.

† Communicated by W. Benjamin, New York.

1787 which had been so decisive. He came up a few hours later, and took charge of the prisoners and relieved the gentlemen who had so gallantly won the field and dispersed the rebels. The same day Colonel Ashley sent reinforcements to General Lincoln with field pieces and ammunition. Fearing an attack on Lanesboro, General Lincoln wrote as follows :

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 28th, 1787.

"To General John Patterson.

"DEAR SIR: I have invited all the Good People of Lanesborough to turn out this afternoon, & to remain in Arms till further Orders, for the purpose of defending their own Town, and of giving aid to their Friends, should they not be attacked themselves. My application is but a wish, they may or may not obey it, it appears to me that their own safety requires the measure, would it not be well, if you are of the same opinion, to issue your orders on the subject.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN."*

On the 1st of March the senate ordered "that his excellency the governor be and is hereby requested to express to Major-General Lincoln that the legislature entertain a high sense of the spirit, patriotism, and distinguished merit of the officers and soldiers who at the call of their country have, with a cheerfulness peculiar to great and good minds, exerted themselves in defense of the rights and privileges secured to the citizens of this commonwealth by our happy constitution."

"The legislature congratulate their brethren in arms on the success that has crowned their virtuous exertions for the suppression of the late lawless rebellion and insurrection.

"In the House of Representatives read and concurred, and approved by the governor."†

After the attack at Stockbridge, February 26th, the General Court on March 8th requested the governor to write again, and asked the governors not only to arrest the rebels themselves, but to allow the officers from Massachusetts to enter

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

† Court Records, vol. xlix.

their States and arrest them. In the meantime General Lincoln, after the engagement at Sheffield, had sent an express to the governor, giving information of the affair of the 26th. The legislature at once issued the most general orders to General Lincoln; three regiments of militia were ordered out to co-operate with the Massachusetts troops, and they gave the governor leave of absence in order to visit the governors of the neighboring States, and he went to the scene of action with General Lincoln. This obliged the rebels to leave for Vermont. At first the governor of that State refused to do anything for fear that the legislature might be surrounded by men who he knew were arming; but on the urgent and very spirited resolution of the General Court of Massachusetts being sent to the governor of that State, and a remonstrance against the aiding of convicts flying from justice, the governor of Vermont issued on February 22d a proclamation as requested. The governor of Pennsylvania complied at once with the request of the governor of Massachusetts, and March 1st offered an additional reward for the capture of the rebels. On March 8th the General Court authorized the governor to march the militia out of the State if it was necessary. The governor wrote to Congress, informing them that there was an insurrection in the State, and requesting Congress to send troops to defend the Federal arsenal at Springfield, and asking a commission for General Lincoln and authority to march troops into any other State for the apprehension of the leaders. This done, the General Court proceeded to the trial of those in custody. On February 26th the Supreme Judicial Court were directed to hold a special session of the counties of Berkshire, Hampshire, and Middlesex. The court was to sit in Worcester on the last Tuesday in April. The selectmen were ordered to remove from the jury-list the names of all persons who had aided or forwarded the rebellion, unless such persons could obtain a vote of the town to have their names reinserted, and the attorney for the commonwealth did not object. The rebellion had in some towns been so general that there were hardly enough persons left to be officers of the cor-

1787

1787 poration. On the 10th of March the General Court appointed three commissioners whose duty it was on application of any one concerned in the rebellion, and on furnishing satisfactory evidence of their sorrow and taking the oath, to restore them to citizenship without being bound to keep the peace. From this act there were excepted Shays, Wheeler, Parsons, and Day, and any persons who had fired on or killed any citizens, and the commander of the party to which any person who had killed any citizen belonged, and any member of the rebel council of war, and all persons against whom warrants had been issued by the governor and council, unless liberated on bail. The commission consisted of the major-general acting, and the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. They also passed a resolution directing that the selectmen and other town officers should take the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth. They also passed a bill reducing the number of terms of holding the courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, and a new bill reducing the allowances made to public officers. They appointed a committee to inquire into public grievances. The committee reported only very few :

1st. That the interest on the public securities had not been promptly paid.

2d. That the Treasurer had not been held under sufficient restrictions in drawing orders.

3d. That the governor's salary was too high.

The legislature passed a bill reducing the governor's salary to £800, and the governor objected that his salary of £1100 was not sufficient, and that the legislature had no right to reduce it; that the governor ought not to be under the influence of the General Court; that the Constitution provided that he should have a permanent and sufficient salary; and the bill was lost. The same day, March 11th, the governor at the request of both Houses adjourned them. In the recess of the legislature seven hundred and ninety persons were restored by the commission. Of those who were tried six were convicted of treason in Berkshire, six in Hampshire, one in Worcester,

and one in Middlesex, or fourteen in all. They were con- 1787
demned to death. Besides this, many persons of prominence and some officers were convicted of using seditious words. One was a member of the House of Representatives. He was sentenced to sit on the gallows with a rope around his neck, to pay a fine of £50, and was bound to keep the peace for five years. This sentence was carried out. Afterward the Court, on April 30th, advised that only two in Hampshire and two in Berkshire should suffer death, but the sheriff was instructed not to open his orders until May 17th, when they were under the gallows. To the others the governor on April 30th granted a free pardon. A reprieve was granted to those condemned to the 21st of June. After all these acts of clemency, in one of their predatory excursions on May 21st the rebels captured two citizens and held them as hostages for the lives of Parsons, Parmenter, and Henry McClintock, who were under sentence of death for high treason. They threatened to put these citizens to death if the sentence was executed. Both of the gentlemen afterward escaped. At the session of the legislature the governor reported that it was necessary to keep troops stationed in Hampshire and Berkshire counties until the rebellion was put down. The legislature voted a force of not more than eight hundred and not less than five hundred men for this purpose. They also passed resolutions pardoning all persons connected with the rebellion on their taking the oath before the 12th of September, except nine who were named. It was evident that the rebellion had been put down, but some of the leaders went to Canada with the hope of obtaining aid to keep up the strife; but in this they were not successful. They then determined to go to the polls, where they should have gone in the first instance. Each party used every means in its power to elect its candidates. The result of the elections was a complete surprise to every one. The conservative party, which had been the party of law and order and had supported the government in all its acts, was defeated by a large majority, so that it seemed as if there had been a complete change in the public sentiment in favor of the rioters.

1787 The legislature was convened for the fourth time since the rebellion, on April 27th, on account of the death of the treasurer of the State. Every one looked forward to the session with the greatest anxiety. Governor Bowdoin resigned, and Governor Hancock was elected in his place. It was found, when the legislature assembled, that not more than a quarter of the new members had been in previous legislatures, and that several of these had been implicated in the rebellion, some of them having been fugitives on account of acts of treason, and others having actually served a time in prison. It was supposed that they would at once grant a free pardon to all the rebels, but contrary to all expectations, the session took at once a conservative tone. They refused by a vote of 129 to 94 to grant a general amnesty. On June 16th they extended the time of reprieve for the convicts to August 2d.

On the 29th of June thanks were sent to the States who had aided the State of Massachusetts. The legislature then directed that after that date no further acts of clemency be granted to any found in arms against the State. It was found on examination that the resolution of pardon extended only to persons who had been guilty of treason; another was therefore introduced to include seditious practices. One party contended that the cost of prosecution should be paid by the commonwealth, and another by the culprits. They passed as a compromise a resolution that no prosecution should be commenced against any one for sedition or seditious practices until the end of the next session. This session ended on the 7th of July. The continued reprieving of the convicts prevented the rebels outside of the State from committing further acts of rebellion and avoided a pretense for hostilities, and these reasons were stated in the warrants.

A bill had been introduced into the General Court granting indemnity to the leaders of the rebellion, but so worded that any one against whom an indictment had been found did not come under its provisions. It consequently bore very severely on those who had been active in the commencement of the rebellion but had early changed their minds and been loyal sup-

porters of the government since then. In the general desire 1787 for clemency, as these men had been forgotten, the amnesty was accorded to them, as shown by the letter to Governor Hancock dated August, 1787, written by Mr. Van Schaack :

"It is with a degree of satisfaction that I have it in my power to assure your Excellency that if the resolve of the 13th of June last had comprehended persons under indictment for the smaller offenses [this resolve gave amnesty to the leaders of the rebellion], the inhabitants of Pittsfield would have been entirely satisfied. Major Oliver Root, Captain Daniel Sackett, Lieutenant Anson Noble, and Constable Moses Wood are of this class of men, and were among those who in the early stages of the insurrection returned to a sense of their duty, and have ever since demeaned themselves as faithful citizens. They feel exceedingly chagrined that they should be under degrading disqualifications, while those who have committed high-handed offenses against the public have returned to the bosom of the country without punishment."

On September 12th a pardon was granted to four of the convicts, and four were reprieved until the 20th. Of those confined in Berkshire two escaped and the other had his sentence commuted to hard labor for eleven years. On August 12th quiet was so far restored that the number of men in arms was reduced to two hundred. On September 20th the governor ordered them to be discharged.

In extinguishing the last sparks of the rebellion against the authority of the commonwealth amongst the Berkshire Hills, General Paterson was as active as he had been efficient in the commencement of it. He was prompt, energetic, active, always on the alert and ready for every emergency. How efficient his service was and how highly it was appreciated is shown by the fact that when resolutions of inquiry implying a censure on some of his actions during the rebellion were presented in the House on the 5th of March, 1787, the Senate refused to concur.*

It was shown that the general had not heard of the declaration of the rebellion made by the General Court on February 4th, when he treated with Wiley, as he had been justified in

* See Appendix F.

1787 doing, not only on account of the orders which he had previously received from General Lincoln, but also on account of the measures which had been passed in the General Court. It was several days after he treated with Wiley before he received news of the declaration of a rebellion, and when he did so treat with him it was done with every reserve that was necessary under the circumstances and every caution that would be expected from a leader of his military ability.

In February, 1788, Shays and Parsons humbly begged for pardon, which was granted on the 13th of June following, on condition that they, with those persons who were among the number who had been excepted in the indemnity of June 13, 1787, should never accept or hold any office, either civil or military, under the commonwealth.

John Hancock was elected governor of Massachusetts by the first vote of the State on September 4, 1780, and held the office until failing health compelled him to resign. During the winter of 1784-85 James Bowdoin succeeded him and was re-elected in 1786. He was governor during all the first part of the rebellion, and it is owing largely to his determination, foresight, and wise policy that the rebellion was so quickly put down, and to his instructions to the commanding officers that there was so little blood shed. When he resigned in April, 1787, John Hancock succeeded him, and carried out the measures initiated by Governor Bowdoin of bringing the rebels to justice, but so tempering justice with mercy that none of the leaders became troublesome afterward, and that their punishment, while fully satisfying justice, was not so severe as to sour the rebels and their friends on account of the harshness of their treatment, for both governors recognized that these men were for the most part misguided, and that most of the privates were more sinned against than sinning. If the order had been reversed and Hancock had been the governor during the rebellion instead of afterward, it is doubtful whether it would have ended so happily. It was one thing, however, to suppress the rebellion, but quite another to bring the disaffected people to again, cordially and unconditionally, support

the government. This John Hancock did. Only one sentence 1787 was carried out. Those condemned were either allowed to escape or were pardoned at the foot of the gallows as they went to what everybody supposed was their execution, this suffering having been judged amply sufficient. Order was restored, commerce revived. The laws were revised so as to fit the then condition of things. The State became prosperous, and has continued to remain so.

The rebellion was a peculiar one, inasmuch as it did not originate in dissatisfaction toward any of the officers of the government or toward the government itself. It was more the impulse of a distressed people, loaded with burdens the reason for which they did not understand, to do something to rid themselves of their difficulties, which they could not explain, but to overcome which they thought they must do *something*. It was as much the result of having no profitable employment and of having too much time to *talk over* troubles—with no other result than the excitement which the exaggeration of the real evils which have to be borne always produces—as it was of the troubles themselves. Had there been fewer meetings to protest against wrongs, the remedy for which they had in their own hands in the elections, and which could easily have been cured in a few months at least, there would have been no rebellion. It was as much the result of injudicious *talk* as of real grievances.

There was very great and general rejoicing when the rebellion was quelled. It had been put down by the decisive and vigorous action of the authorities, aided by the best people in the State. But for their vigorous action it might have ripened into a serious civil war, not only in Massachusetts but in the neighboring States. The men who accomplished it received but little thanks. The undercurrent of popular sympathy had all along been with the rioters. People felt that their grievances were real, and while they did not uphold their unlawful actions, they felt for the men. The men who had overcome the rebellion felt the weight of the popular odium which usually falls to the lot of those who are called on to *execute* justice

1787 when the public sympathizes with the offender. Such odium fell heavily on Governor Bowdoin and General Lincoln at the time, but both of them lived to be thoroughly appreciated after the lapse of sufficient time to allow matters to adjust themselves. The memories of all those who helped to put the rebellion down are now held in grateful appreciation, while their opponents have been forgotten. It now requires even research to revive the history of anything but the patriotism which these men who so ably defended the State showed during the whole of those perilous times.

This period must be regarded as one of the most important in the history of the United States, for it brought the attention of the leading men in all of the States to the necessity of having a government much stronger than that which had been proposed, and it undoubtedly helped to cement the Union, which has been so prosperous since that time. The rebellion played an important part in the history of those times, for although open opposition was made in only one State, it showed that it was possible in all. We owe to Governor Bowdoin a great debt for carefully studying the causes of the rebellion and endeavoring to remedy them, and for his vigilance in seeing that the leaders were ferreted out and that the misguided people were treated with proper but not too great leniency.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PURSUITS OF PEACE.

AFTER the rebellion was over, the legislature, by carefully prepared enactments, and the courts, by very wise decisions, ameliorated the evils as far as it was possible, and the people themselves, by mutual forbearance, diminished the troubles which previous harsh measures had made so grievous. Imprisonment for debt ceased little by little to be the fashion, while laws ameliorating the too harsh relations between debtor and creditor were passed. The farmer saw that whatever else was true, his land could not produce everything that he required to work his farm, or even for his convenience and comfort; that he must purchase certain articles, and that, although these things might be imported, they were not of necessity articles of luxury, and therefore a cause of demoralization. 1789-1790

Grievances were adjusted by proper course of law, and the State settled down quietly into a prosperity that it had never known, even in pre-Revolutionary times. Village life became a routine of every-day duties. The town meeting, which had been the safety-valve up to the time of the Revolution, resumed its functions, and peace and quiet reigned throughout the State.

No one in western Massachusetts was more prominent in bringing about the good-will and confidence and restoring order than General Paterson. Having been called as a soldier to put down the rebellion with the iron hand of war, he had been conversant with the dissatisfaction in every part of Berkshire County. He was thoroughly acquainted with the ideas of those who had real or fancied grievances. He was

1789-1790 by nature a leader of men. His long military experience had made him thoroughly acquainted with the probable action of men in large masses. His practice as a lawyer and his judicial mind made men accept his well-matured opinions and follow his advice and counsel.

The town of Lenox was then one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the State. The beauty of its scenery and the legends of the hills surrounding it have been described many times. The hills, ponds, and rivers were more attractive then than now, because more natural. The autumn foliage was very beautiful before the maples, and trees of like character, which were then very abundant, had been cut off.

When order was restored General Paterson resumed the practice of his profession, which had been interrupted during the Rebellion. Most public matters were talked over and well digested in his office before they were discussed in town meeting. As Lenox was the county town, the courts were held there, which made it the prominent business center of the county. The sessions of the courts brought lawyers and judges from all parts of the State, many of whom had been officers in the Revolutionary army or in Shays' Rebellion; and for them, as well as for other prominent citizens, General Paterson's office was the general *rendezvous*. The reputation as a lawyer which he had gained from the legal opinions he had given in the many courts-martial over which he had either presided or been a member of, and his well-earned reputation for legal accuracy, had followed him into civil life. His time was divided between his practice in the courts and his endeavor to induce his clients to settle their disputes outside of them.

On August 11, 1785, his eldest daughter, Hannah, married Major Egleston, who had enlisted in his regiment in 1775 and had been on his staff during Shays' Rebellion. On January 3, 1778, his eldest son, John Lee, married the eldest daughter of his old friend and comrade in arms, Caleb Hyde.

Many families of Revolutionary officers had settled in Lenox and the neighboring towns after the war, and made a most agreeable society. They were intimately acquainted with one

another, and marriages among them were frequent. They were for the most part very cultivated people, well read in the literature of the times, and familiar with all the great English authors. Educational advantages were not then of a high order, but the people soon set themselves to right that. It took but a few years to lay the foundations which afterward made the town the greatest educational center of Berkshire County, and for many years one of the most renowned in the State. 1789-1790

The settlers of Massachusetts were a commercial company, who came out to that colony for the purpose of trading with the Indians. They had their own ideas about religion, and were determined that they would have no "lords over God's heritage," but would have for themselves perfect liberty of conscience. That liberty of conscience, however, meant that every one should think exactly as they did, nor depart from it in one jot or tittle. Toleration was not to be thought of, and no person was allowed to be a freeman or to vote who did not conform in every particular to what they laid down as the rule of that conscience. If the differences were slight, punishment of some kind was visited until the individual should conform, but the penalty for any considerable differences was banishment. Their religious intolerance was far greater than that from which they had suffered at home. And so in the name of liberty they built up an absolute despotism, whose tyranny was so great as to form one of the most curious instances of the kind in all history. What the conscience was to be was determined by the minister and his advisers. If the minister was a powerful man intellectually, there was very little trouble; if his advisers, who together with the minister were the keepers of the State conscience, were stronger than the minister, there was continual theological strife. The ministers were ordinarily settled for a long period, many of them for life. When the minister was not settled, they had what used to be called "stated preaching," which permitted the dismissing of the minister at any time. The State conscience as promulgated by authority was the established religion. It ruled the State, it

1789-1790 dominated the courts, and no decision, if made contrary to what it declared to be true, could be enforced or would be tolerated either by the legislature or by the courts. To this establishment people were admitted by "owning the covenant," and to it everybody, under all conditions, was pledged to pay taxes, and no rights of freemen could be had without that "owning of the covenant." Berkshire County was so remote from the center of this religion, or the State establishment, as it really was, for the established religion of Massachusetts was not abolished until the year 1820, that it knew nothing by experience of the religious tyranny of the early settlers of the colony. The people were more tolerant, and even admitted that differences of opinion were allowable. The "establishment," however, here as elsewhere, was the center of all intellectual life, and around it all important events, whether in the political field or in the family, turned. The first house in Lenox was built in 1750, but the town was not incorporated until 1767. It was not settled until the asperities of the State religion had become somewhat softened, and was so remote from the great centers that, like all frontiers, it was necessary, from the very condition of things, to relax somewhat from a very strict rule.

People in those days went to "meeting"; they did not go to "church." In colonial days nothing which savored of what was called prelacy was tolerated. During the Revolution the members of the Church of England had been very generally loyal to the king. After the Revolution people did not make the distinction between the men and their principles. To be a member of the Church of England was to be disloyal. To worship as a churchman worshiped was to be papistical. They hated and abhorred both. Hence the "meeting-house," and not the "church," was the center of town life. In the early life of the colony the established religion and the state were spoken of as distinct organizations, but they were distinct more in name than in fact. But the "establishment" controlled everything, religious or political. Every one was taxed to support it, whether he believed in it or not. There were no civil rights without membership in it. The pilgrim fathers

suffered everything to obtain their own liberty of conscience, 1789-1790 but they were not willing that any one else should have any such freedom—they must agree with them. They did, in fact, what is often done—acquired their own liberty, and then in matters of belief refused it to any one else, except on condition of accepting theirs. It was not until 1820, when the revised constitution of the State went into effect, that a separation of church and state took place, and every man became free to believe what he chose. In the early days they required confession, not to a priest, but to the whole congregation, but gave no absolution. This practice, from its inherent mischievousness, had then, however, for many years fallen into disuse.

The first day of the week was the Sabbath; the name of Sunday was spurned, as being of heathen origin. The preparation for the Sabbath always began on Saturday morning. Dinner for the next day was cooked and placed in the buttery on the north side of the house, to be eaten cold. Early in the morning Indian meal was put upon the fire to simmer, and was served as hasty-pudding or suppawn, for the evening meal of Saturday, and was put by to cool, and on the Sabbath morning was fried and eaten with molasses for breakfast. The thoroughness of the cooking was such that the meal was healthy and nutritious, and it is still used in some parts of New England. The Sabbath commenced on Saturday evening, which was treated in every respect as part of the holy day. It ended, not at sundown on the next day, but when three stars could be seen in the sky, which would be some time after sundown; the day was then considered as over, after which any boisterous play could be indulged in by the children, out-of-doors. The time on Saturday after sundown was spent in learning or reciting the Westminster Catechism, or in reading such devotional books as the library of the house afforded.

The "meeting-house" was the center of all the social life of the town. Those who lived in the village were but a small proportion of the members who had "joined the covenant." The others lived in a radius from it which was often as great as six to

1789-1790 ten miles. The "Sabbath" services in the meeting-house commenced at half-past ten. Happy the congregation that did not get a sermon of at least an hour or an hour and a half long. The discourses were often metaphysical rather than explanatory; they were imaginative, too, rather than practical. They were divided into heads and subheads, and often ended with "lastly," "finally," and "in conclusion," so that it was no small feat of memory to be able to give with the text a synopsis of the discourse. The text was always demanded of the little children, and both text and synopsis were usually required of the older ones. The elders had to be able to correct any mistakes, so that by constant practice it became a habit, both of old and young, not only to listen attentively, but to retain what they heard. This intellectual feat, which was then so common that it excited no remark, would now be considered as a dangerous experiment for children; but living in the open air, and accustomed to hard physical exercise as they were, it seems only to have made strong intellects instead of weak ones. It developed the habit of close attention over long periods, and a memory capable of acquiring a mass of details in a very short time and retaining them without great mental effort. It became by habit almost second nature. This education—for that it was—produced boys and girls who at the age of twelve years felt themselves capable of discussing the most abstruse theological questions, not always resulting in happiness to themselves. The people so schooled found little difficulty in memorizing the language of the Bible, with which they were very familiar, and also the ideas and the language of the best writers. It made quick, sharp, but not always happy men and women, intellectually the superiors of their descendants, but the model was not a lovely one. When the morning meeting was over the "intermission" followed, which was looked forward to, each week, as the great event. Those who came from a distance in winter brought their foot-stoves and their dinner, and ate it in the meeting-house, which then became a place of social reunion, until the time of the "afternoon meeting." The young formed groups by themselves, and

talked together of what interested them. The men discussed the crop prospects, and interchanged views on subjects religious, political, or social. The goodwives gossiped to their hearts' content over their affairs, and by the time the "afternoon meeting" was to commence they had talked themselves, one and all, "into a frame of mind" to listen to another sermon an hour to an hour and a half long. Habit incapacitated them from thinking of anything else. In the summer, during the intermission the young people went into the graveyard, or on to the Ledge or Pinnacle for a walk; the very young ones remained in the graveyard, which was next the meeting-house, and played among the gravestones without noise. The graveyard was "hired out" to the highest bidder annually for pasturage, and in their play they had to be careful not to run against some horse, pig, sheep, cow, or calf, which had the legal right there. Brambles were the rule there, and they had to be careful not to tear their clothes on them. Their play was very quiet. It was the only condition of their being out-of-doors. No demonstrative play was allowed on the Sabbath until three stars could be distinctly seen. When the "afternoon discourse" was finished, those who came from a distance went back to their homes. For those in the village there was a prayer-meeting at five, which ended the religious services of the day.

The churchyard and the walks near it were the delightful resorts of both young and old. The sometimes quaint inscriptions on the gravestones were read over and over again. They never lost their interest, though they were learned by heart from constant reading. The view from the churchyard, which must remain beautiful for all time, was ever fresh. It was even more beautiful then than now, though still one of the most attractive in the town. Our ancestors had brought with them from England a most beautiful and devotional custom of burying their dead with their feet to the east, so that when our blessed Lord appeared on the resurrection morning there should be no backs turned toward Him, but all should rise to face Him when he appeared in His glory. Puritanism never did away with the custom, and it is only within comparatively

1789-1790 recent years, since "improvements" and "higher criticism" have undermined the spiritual, that this devout and beautiful custom has been done away with.

The social life was very simple. There were literary gatherings for the reading or recitation of selections from the best authors. As books were few, scrap-books were plenty. Some of them, beautifully written, with original pieces as well as selections, are still in good preservation. Young people competed with one another in committing to memory long extracts from the best English literature. The community were as familiar with Shakespeare as with the Bible. Such an education could not fail to produce a high polish of style, though to us it seems somewhat stilted.

The postal facilities were small. Letters were long, but they read more like essays prepared for a magazine than the extemporized efforts of an hour. Men addressed their parents and wives, and lovers their sweethearts, in language that was in the most stilted style of English, which, though it doubtless expressed to them all that the heart could desire of duty, affection, or love, seems to us as we read it now not to be likely to excite any such emotions.

Music was cultivated everywhere. Each town had its singing-school and its singing-master. Young people came together to learn to sing by note and to cultivate their voices. Serenades were very frequent; they were both vocal and instrumental. Open-air performances were quite common. Some of the more musically ambitious would on summer evenings go to what was then called "the grove," a small clump of trees near the foot of the Court-house Hill, and when the wind was toward the town, climb the trees and discourse sweet music from them, which could be distinctly heard in the town. It was simple, good, whole-souled, and natural, and gave a pleasure which we, accustomed to what is more artificial, can hardly imagine. But the great musical organization was the village choir. Sometimes it was more ambitious than successful, but it always "praised God, from whom all blessings flow," with the heart, though the fiddle or the bass-viol bow did some-

times make discordant sounds. The leader of the choir was an important man, but the most important in his own estimation, then as now, was the man with the bass viol. Organs were not known, and the choir, usually a large one, composed of almost every one in the village who had a good voice, was accompanied by such musical instruments as the village could furnish, the number depending not so much on the balancing of the music as the number of persons who could play the flute, fife, clarionet, or stringed instrument. Brass instruments were rarely seen. The singing was usually good. It was almost without exception congregational, or at least all the congregation joined in it. How ambitious it was depended on a variety of circumstances, and among these, what the choir-master thought they could perform, and what the minister would allow. This kind of choir has almost entirely passed away in New England, except, perhaps, in towns remote from railroads, and has been replaced by much more artificial methods. The people now want "culture" in music as in everything else, but it is doubtful whether they "praise God" as well, certainly not so much from the heart, as when every one had the opportunity of helping in that praise. No such thing as devotional music confined to the choir, in which the congregation had no part except to listen, was known.

The amusements for the young were about the same then as now. "The one-horse shay" and the gig with C springs have long passed into history. Many a happy drive was taken in these vehicles. It is doubtful whether the long journeys into the other parts of the county or into neighboring counties or States, though made in less time, are now made any more comfortably. Every saddle had its "pillion." It was hard for the horse, but delightful for the young people, who "for the sake of the horse" could go as few miles in as many hours as was pleasing for them. When the journey was to be long, the saddle-bags, which contained everything, from a change of clothes and refreshment for the journey to part of a farrier's outfit, was an important adjunct.

The games of the boys were very much then what they are

1789-1790 now in summer, except that base-ball was a simple game of real enjoyment, and that in foot-ball, the ball was actually kicked, and not moved in any other way. The old game of wicket, which for years was so very popular, seems to have died out entirely. The town had three ponds, they call them lakes now, Little Pond, in the town itself, Big Pond, on the Stockbridge road, and Scott's pond, on the road to Lee. Besides these, the swamp on the west side of the town was always overflowed and frozen in winter. These ponds gave abundant fishing for pickerel and other fresh-water fish, which were caught through the ice in winter and from row-boats in the summer. There was plenty of game of all kinds in their season. In the winter sleigh-riding was the principal amusement of both old and young, and "sliding down-hill" the joy of the children. It is called "coasting" now, and is a much less natural and healthful amusement. Sleds were not to be bought; they were made. The one with the greatest speed gave the greatest joy. The Court-house Hill and the Meeting-house Hill were full of boys and girls on proper days, enjoying this exhilarating and healthful sport. But there were drifts and snow-crusts which would not bear the runners of the sleds, and for them "the jumper," the pride of the boy who could make it, was used. It consisted of two flour-barrel staves nailed on to a piece of board, and a string fastened to a nail to hold it by. It could be supported on a very thin crust, but if there was any projection the jumper, as it was not more than three inches high, would be sure to catch it, when it would remain behind, and the boy with his acquired velocity would shoot on, to his intense joy, until friction or some other obstacle stopped him, and then he would have to run, to his heart's delight, to catch his jumper, which, released from its burden, would speed on before him.

The village life was healthful and natural. The houses had open fireplaces; the drum stove had not been invented. Wood was used exclusively for fuel. There was plenty of ventilation, no over-heated air; for even when the windows were stuffed with cotton or covered with sand-bags, and the

fireplaces in the bedrooms filled up, air would come in. The life was out-of-doors, and so our ancestors grew up in the New England villages, men and women ready to grapple with the ills, and fully prepared to enjoy the good things, of this life. 1789-1790

The domestic life was of the simplest description. Families were self-dependent; while the men worked the farm or looked after their out-door affairs, the women not only attended to their ordinary household duties, but knit, spun, and wove into fabrics such homespun articles as were necessary for the family use. It seems wonderful that they were able to do so much; but they systematized their time, and were never idle when well. As their life was so natural their health was strong, and nervous diseases were not common. With all their household duties and work they never forgot to cultivate and maintain that grace which characterizes ladies. The evenings were spent in some kind of recreation, which was usually of an intellectual character. Great beauty, both of face and character, was not uncommon, as is shown by some of the miniatures which have come down to us. Foremost among them were Mrs. Paterson, her daughters, and granddaughters.

Military matters were not neglected. General Paterson took the liveliest interest in the organization of companies in the villages and of regiments by the union of companies. He saw that they were properly uniformed and drilled. He inspired the soldiers not only with proper military spirit, but with patriotic ardor. He endeavored to maintain discipline among them just as much as if each regiment might be called in the afternoon to march into action at sunrise the next morning, as his own regiment had done. Muster-day was the great day of the year, and to prepare for it the young men "trained" weekly during the spring, summer, and fall, the mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts doing their best to have the young men they were interested in have as imposing an appearance as possible. Every young man in the town old enough to bear arms joined a company and drilled on the village green preparatory to the "muster," which was made to be as much like a real camp as possible. Fires were lighted,

1789-1790 sentinels posted, watchwords were given, and all things conducted as though the enemy was near and an attack was liable to be made at any time. Alarms were given at all times of day and night, and for the time of the muster it looked like real war. Most of the officers had seen service, and those who had not were never tired of hearing, over the camp-fires, of "how we beat the British." Patriotic songs were sung, and the principles of true heroism were imbibed by the young men by hearing over their camp-fires on these occasions the story of the sacrifices made by the Revolutionary army, how they fought to redress wrongs, and of the feats of bravery of men then living, and perhaps in camp with them. No opportunity was lost of inculcating on the young men the duty of each one to defend his country in times of danger, and never to submit to oppression lest they should lose the right to be freemen. Patriotism was taught to be the noblest of civic virtues. The only music at these "musters" was the fife and the drum, to the notes of which the old men would straighten up and march like young ones, and the younger men would put all the military fire in their faces and steps that they were capable of, and look for the smiling admiration of their ladies.

The fathers talked the battles over before the children, who listened with eager ears, and, not to be behind their elders, organized companies with paper hats and epaulets, with wooden swords and guns, and such accouterments as their mothers' store-chests could furnish, and marched with such precision as they could. They had many a pitched battle with one another, taking sides, in which the British were, by common consent, beaten; and when they were not, there were storms of words, and "No fair play!" and "I won't play any more." It was a foregone conclusion that the British must be beaten, and if they were not, there could be no fair play in it. The great ambition of every boy was to become old enough to put on a real uniform and to be a soldier. The boys were not less patriotic than the men, and formed no small part of the admiring and appreciating crowd which assembled on the muster-days. When they were angry with one another their

most opprobrious epithet was to call one another "a redcoat," 1791 in allusion to the hated British uniform, or "a Hessian," which meant a menial hired to do dirty work. So the next generation grew up, patriotic, dearly loving their country, sure that they had rights, certain of what they were, and ready to defend them, as they afterward did in the War of 1812. This spirit never died out. It looked for some years before the late War of the Rebellion as if it had become dormant, but when the call came for volunteers to defend the nation, Berkshire County in general, and Lenox in particular, were quick to obey the call. Lenox has its heroes of the Revolution, of the War of 1812, and of the Rebellion.

General Paterson had come to Lenox with three little children, one son and two daughters. Four other children, one boy and three girls, had been born to him there, and one of the daughters had died in infancy. His daughter Polly, a beautiful and accomplished girl, had died at the age of seventeen. His family now consisted of two sons and three daughters. Mrs. Paterson was in every respect a very remarkable woman, and well suited to be the head of his household under all the various conditions of his life.

In the year 1790 General Paterson became one of the proprietors of the "Boston Purchase," which consisted of 230,400 acres in Broome and Tioga counties, New York. This property was west of the Chenango River and Owego Creek. It extended twenty miles north of the Susquehanna River. He therefore decided, in 1791, to remove from Lenox with his family to Broome County, in company with his wife's parents. General Hyde, of Lenox, whose daughter Clarissa had married General Paterson's eldest son, followed him in a very short time. Before leaving Lenox he transferred the house situated on Main Street, on the crest of the Court-house Hill, which he had built when he first settled in that town, to his daughter, Mrs. Egleston. The journey to Broome County was long and tedious and exceedingly difficult. It was made by passing through Catskill to Bainbridge on the Susquehanna River, where they took boats and descended the river to the present

1791 site of Binghamton, thence up the Chenango and Tionghinoga rivers, to the forks of the latter and the Otselic rivers, to Lisle,* now known as Whitney's Point, in the township of Triangle, where they were the first, or among the first, settlers in the town. The place where he built his house was for a long time known as "Paterson's Settlement." The first religious service in the town was held in his house. There was but one school each winter. The teachers were selected from the families settled in the town. One of General Paterson's sons was the second teacher of the village school. General Paterson was the peer of the ablest in the surrounding country, and was at once called to public service. He was made commissioner of highways for the town of Union, then in Tioga County, in 1792. He was elected assessor in the same year. In the year 1791 that part of Montgomery County which is now embraced in the counties of Broome, Tioga, and Chemung was set off as a county under the name of Tioga County. General Paterson was the first judge and the first representative to the State legislature from the new county. He represented Tioga County for two years—1792, 1793—in the New York State legislature. During that session he was member of the Standing Committee on Grievances and of many of the temporary committees to which matters of importance were referred during the session. Among these were those relating to the internal improvements of the State, to military matters, especially to making the law of the State relating to the militia conform to the law of the United States; for the regulation of the elections for the State and United States officers; for the arrangement of the division of counties; for the formation and setting of the boundaries of new counties; for the improvement of internal navigation; for regulating the administration of the courts of justice; for making new roads in different parts of the State; for arranging in relation to bounties of land granted to soldiers of the Revolutionary War; for

* The town of Lisle as originally laid out included the present townships of Lisle, Baker, and Triangle. Whitney's Point is a village in the township of Triangle.

the vesting of glebe lands in the legal authorities of the different churches. There were not as many committees in those days as now in the legislature, the entire number at this session being four. Matters were referred to special rather than to general committees. General Paterson was also very efficient in securing the services of proper persons for both civil and military offices and seeing that the qualifications of those recommended were exactly what they should be. He was elected a trustee of Oxford Academy on January 27, 1794. In 1796 he was made assessor and commissioner of schools. On March 27, 1798, he was appointed to the bench and was chief-justice of the county of Tioga. He was in 1801 a member of the convention called to amend the constitution of the State of New York. 1794-1806

General Paterson was elected to the United States Congress in 1802 from Tioga County, and served from October 7, 1803, until March 3, 1805. In Congress he was the same active, untiring, efficient man that he had been during the war. He was a member of some of the most important committees of the House, supporting and defending the claims of the Revolutionary soldiers, endeavoring to put the currency of the country on a sound financial basis, studying and advocating the best way to establish and regulate the mints and the coinage of the country, looking after the construction of the public buildings, arranging treaties with other countries, and trying to throw some order into the commercial affairs of the nation by the passing of a proper bankruptcy law, and to do away with imprisonment for debt. He was always looking after the interest of the soldiers, and he never forgot that the country he had served so long, both before and during the war, needed the best service that he could render after the war, and he rendered it as only a patriot of his convictions and ability could. Upon retiring from Congress he returned to his duties on the bench.

On April 2, 1806, the county of Broome was set off from Tioga County. On May 13, 1806, he was made chief-justice of Broome County, his term of service ending with his life. The

1806 district has since been divided into several counties. There were but few public conveyances in those days, and he and General Erastus Root, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of New York, representing the Delaware district, which, with the Tioga district, then composed nearly one third of the State, used to meet at the great bend on the Susquehanna and go through the woods as far as Harrisburg on their way to Congress, and make the most of the journey to Washington on horseback.

General Paterson was six feet one and a half inches in height, and well proportioned, of graceful carriage and commanding mien. He was a nervous, quick, active man, and a great pedestrian. While county judge, he would often walk eighteen miles to Binghamton to hold his court, rather than go to the field and catch a horse to ride. While in the army he excelled as a drill officer. He was diffident, retiring in habits, never putting himself forward or importuning for place. Duty was first with him, and whether he received censure or praise for doing it, it always had the force of law with him. In all his relations he maintained the strictest interpretation of probity and honor, and he never forgot that he was a gentleman. He was a man of varied accomplishments, of great scholarly attainments, was prominent as a lawyer, an eminent and an upright judge, was much respected as a useful and worthy citizen, always alive to his own duty while seeking to help others, and he consequently held many offices of trust. He was as just as a judge as he had been active and efficient as an army officer. Although a very large land-holder, General Paterson never became wealthy in his new home, but he was revered by his neighbors and looked up to as well qualified both to advise and lead in public matters. The historian of New Britain, Connecticut, from which locality he removed to Lenox, says that, "judging from the honorable offices bestowed on General Paterson, he was in these respects the most distinguished man ever reared there." Those who knew General Paterson well, some of whom were with him in the army, say that history might truly set forth his merits in a very strong light as an accomplished gentle-



MEMORIAL TABLET IN TRINITY CHURCH, LENOX, MASS.

man, a great soldier, a thorough patriot, an eminent lawyer, 1792 and a just judge.

General Paterson had seven children, three of whom were born in Farmington, Connecticut, and four in Lenox, Massachusetts. He died at Lisle, New York, July 19, 1808, aged sixty-four. A monumental tablet to his memory, shown opposite, was erected in Trinity Church in Lenox by his great-grandson, Thomas Egleston, in 1887.

CHILDREN.

General Paterson had two sons and five daughters.

(1) *Josiah Lee Paterson.*

He was born in Farmington, Conn., October 11, 1766. On January 3, 1788, he married in Lenox Clarissa Hyde, eldest daughter of General Caleb* and Elizabeth (Sackett) Hyde. She was born in Lebanon, Conn., April 27, 1767. They went to Lisle with General Paterson. Her father followed shortly after. They lived there until 1813, when they removed to Monroe County, N. Y. They settled first at Ogden, and afterward removed to Parma, Monroe County, N. Y. She died in Parma, April 16, 1837. He died there March 12, 1846. They had nine children, four daughters and five sons.

(2) *Hannah Paterson.*

She was born in Farmington, August 24, 1769, and married in Lenox, August 11, 1785, to Azariah Egleston, who was born in Sheffield, Mass., February 23, 1757, and was the son of Seth and Rachel (Church) Egleston. He with his three brothers

* General Hyde was born in Farmington, Conn., July 29, 1739. In 1761 he married Elizabeth Sackett, who was born November 22, 1742. They settled in Lenox in 1769. He was very active in remonstrating against and in opposing British aggressions. When General Paterson took the field he was sent from Lenox to the Third Provincial Congress at Watertown as his successor. During the Revolutionary War he was a captain, and after it was over was made sheriff of Berkshire County. He served in this capacity during Shays' Rebellion. He removed to Lisle

1792 enlisted at Pittsfield in General Paterson's regiment, and was with him during the whole war, and afterward in Shays' Rebellion. After the war they settled in Lenox, and when General Paterson left there he transferred to Mrs. Egleston the house which he had built and had occupied with his family, which is now owned by his great-grandson, Thomas Egleston, of New York. He left the army as paymaster of the First Massachusetts regiment, with the line rank of lieutenant and the staff rank of major. After the war he was several times appointed major in the Massachusetts militia. He was made justice of the peace in Lenox in the year 1787, and held the office continually until 1815. He was elected representative to the General Court (House of Representatives) in 1796, 1797, 1798, and 1799, and was State senator in 1807, 1808, and 1809. In 1808 he was made associate justice of the Court of Sessions, which office he held until 1815. Egleston Square in Roxbury, near Boston, is named after him. He was a liberal patron of education. He founded the Lenox Academy, which for many years was the prominent educational institution in western Massachusetts. He organized the parish of Trinity Church in Lenox, and helped to educate its first rector and to have him ordained in England. He was noted through the State for his hospitality, liberality, and public spirit and benevolence. Mrs. Egleston died January 21, 1803. He died January 12, 1822.* They had seven children, five daughters and two sons.

(3) *Polly Paterson.*

She was born in Farmington in 1773, and died in Lenox, August 19, 1790. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished young ladies of her day. She died at the age of

shortly after General Paterson, and was always very intimate with his family both at Lenox and Lisle. After his removal to New York State he was elected major-general of the State Militia. He was senator at Albany in 1803. His wife died at Lisle, January 6, 1806. He died at Lisle, December 25, 1820.

* A biographical notice of Major Egleston was published in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, July, 1892.

seventeen years, and is interred in the Lenox cemetery, next 1792 to the remains of her sister, Mrs. Egleston.

(4) *Ruth Paterson.*

She was born in Lenox, August 6, 1774; she was married in Lenox, November 14, 1797, to Ira Seymour, who was born in Richmond, Mass., March 18, 1776, the son of David and Lucy (Alvord) Seymour. She died at Whitney's Point, February 10, 1842. He died in Whitney's Point, N. Y., September 29, 1866. They had nine children, six daughters and three sons.

(5) *Betsy Paterson.*

Born in Lenox in 1784, and died in infancy.

(6) *John Peirce Paterson.*

He was born in Lenox, May 5, 1787. He married at Lisle, July 22, 1809, Sally Osborne, who was born in Richmond, Mass., July 22, 1786, the daughter of William and Dorcas Osborne. They removed to Ogden, near Rochester, N. Y., in 1812, and lived there until 1840, when they removed to Illinois. He died in Peoria County, Ill., on the La Salle Prairie, fifteen miles north of Peoria City, June 3, 1842. She died in Birmingham, Schuyler County, Ill., in May, 1847. While in Ogden he was sheriff of the county and member of the legislature, and a presidential elector. They had one son and one daughter.

(7) *Maria Paterson.*

She was born in Lenox, February 9, 1790. She was married at Lisle, April 10, 1808, to Samuel Kilborn, who was born in Litchfield, Conn., November 27, 1783, son of David and Deidama Kilborn. They lived in Spencerport, Monroe County, N. Y. He died January 31, 1862. She died April 23, 1865, at Ogden, N. Y. They had nine children, five sons and four daughters.

(For a list of General Paterson's descendants, see Appendix H.)

1792 General Paterson died very suddenly in the vigor of manhood and in the pursuit of duty, and with a profound love to the country he so ably defended. From the year 1766, when he was made justice of the peace in Farmington, to the day of his death, he always filled some important public position, and in each one of the three States in which he lived he was invariably a leading spirit. He was everywhere trusted in whatever capacity he acted, and honored by his countrymen with whatever positions they had to bestow. He was not a politician, but an honest, able, generous, and high-minded citizen. When not engaged in a military capacity he was always active in civic positions; but public work never made him forget private duties. He was as good a husband and father as he had been conscientious in the discharge of public duties. He was buried at Lisle, and no monument of any kind, except a small headstone, had, up to 1892, ever been placed over his remains. His wife died on July 8, 1841, at Spencerport, N. Y., at the home of her youngest daughter, Mrs. Maria Kilborn, at the age of ninety-two years, from dropsy, produced by fracture of the head of the femur, and was buried in the cemetery there. In her own sphere she was as remarkable as her husband. She not only brought up her family well, but she graced every position to which her husband was called, and always stood at his right hand to help him carry out any of his plans. For fifty-one years they were separated in death, as they never had been in life. In May, 1892, his remains and those of his wife, which had been buried at some distance from him, were reinterred with appropriate ceremonies in the cemetery at Lenox, beside their two daughters, and a monument of polished Quincy granite erected in the town, opposite to his house, and beautiful headstones put up in the cemetery by Thomas Egleston.* He was among the foremost of the Revolutionary patriots and soldiers of Massachusetts. Lieutenant-Governor Rockwell, in speaking of him in his oration at the Centennial in Lenox, says that "in preparing this oration, and

* For a full account of the unveiling ceremonies see Appendix H.

examining as far as possible into the life of General Paterson, 1792 I feel impressed that he had been a most important aid and adviser to Washington, and was in every way qualified to take the place of his chief in case of emergency." He was one of the most efficient of the Revolutionary officers, and one of the most trusted officers of Washington to the end of the war. Very few of Washington's officers could show such a record as his * during his activity, and when his post of duty became the "hated Highlands," he served his country in the tedious duty of watching the enemy with as much zeal and fidelity as if he had had all the excitement of an active campaign. The only public memorials of him were, up to 1892, in one of the five tablets surrounding the base of the monument in commemoration of the battle of Monmouth in Freehold, in the State of New Jersey (see p. 106), where he is represented as taking an active part in the council of war, and the tablet erected in 1887 in Trinity Church, Lenox.†

The Hon. Thomas J. Paterson, of Rochester, N. Y., General Paterson's grandson, in a letter dated July 6, 1878, apologizing for the neglect of General Paterson's memory, says: "You say truly it is singular that children are so neglectful in keeping records of even distinguished ancestors. Yet it should be recollected that we are all sovereigns, and, in our estimation, peers of the best of them, and venerate in consequence of this, much less than other people, our ancestors. Everything is new with us, and soon fades and passes away. We have no ancestral halls, hung around with armorial bearings, to awaken recollections of an honored ancestry and strengthen love of country, or temples devoted to the service of the ever-living God, moss-grown and ivied, where the son has worshiped in the place of the father from generation to generation, which are fast anchors. We are a wandering people. The sun that lights up our birth scarcely shines upon the land of our rest. We pause for a moment at the tomb of our ancestors and pay a tributary tear, then pass forgetfully away. Our American ship of state may have to ride for many generations over

* See Appendix G.

† See page 225.

1792 boisterous seas without these anchors, yet it is to be hoped the virtue and intelligence of the people will prevent the shipwreck of liberty."

General Paterson was a tireless and undaunted patriot, never for a moment losing heart in the cause of American independence, sharing with his soldiers in suffering and privation "without murmuring" all that his country was called upon to endure in the cause of liberty from the beginning to the close of the war. No man in New England was more actively engaged in bringing about the American Revolution and carrying it to a successful conclusion than he was, and very few officers were more closely identified with the cause of American independence.* He served the country continuously during the eight years and a half of the War of the Revolution, although it cost him the sacrifice of most of his fortune. He thought, after the trial of André, that he should be obliged to surrender his commission on that account, as he had expended so much of his property in the cause of independence. General Washington was intimate with him, and respected him as a patriot on whom both his commander-in-chief and his country could rely. He was one of the greatest heroes which Berkshire County has produced.

Governor Rockwell, in his eloquent Centennial Celebration address at Lenox, July 4, 1876, speaks of General Paterson as follows: "The regiment was concerned in the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga in October, 1777. When the regiment arrived at Newtown it had only 220 men, but, fellow-citizens, this was the fate of most of the early regiments, and herein consists the great merit of those officers and men. They suffered, sickened, and died that we might live in America under American government, its power limited and its officers elected by the people, under the best government, beyond all question, upon the face of the earth. . . . It may fairly be claimed that General Paterson was among the very foremost of the soldiers of Berkshire. If he had died in Lenox, it would have been resolved that he was worthy a public monument,

* See Appendix G.

and that subject is worthy of consideration now (1876)." "The 1808 United States," says Webster, "commenced their existence under circumstances wholly novel and unexampled in the history of nations. They began with civilization, with learning, with all that was then known of science, with the constitution of a free government, and with that best gift of God to man, the Christian religion. Their population is now equal to that of England. In arts and sciences our citizens are little behind the most enlightened people on earth. In some respects they have no superiors. Our language, within two centuries, will be spoken by more people in this country than any other language on earth, except the Chinese in Asia. Even that may not be an exception."* This is the direct result of the sacrifices of those Revolutionary heroes.

Speaking of the early history of this country, Gladstone says: "Whenever a youth desirous of the study of political life consults me respecting a study in the field of history, I always refer him to the early history of America. Their system of government combined that love of freedom, respect for law, and desire for order which formed the surest element of national excellence."† General Paterson had much to do not only with the defense of the country, but also with establishing the laws on a proper basis after independence was gained. He had always been on the side of law. As a citizen he upheld it, as a general he enforced it, as a lawyer he defended it, as a judge he interpreted it. As a legislator he bent his energies to have the law so formed as to give equal justice to all. His influence and example were always so used as to make obedience to just laws seem to every one the first duty of a good citizen. As a reviser of the State constitution he laid the foundations so broad that without a determined perversion of justice the law must be righteously administered.

It is impossible to study the history of the American Revolution and the very perilous times between the end of the war and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States,

* Preface to Webster's Dictionary.

† Gladstone's speeches.

1808 during which there was great danger that everything gained by the war would be lost, without seeing that a wise Providence directed every act of those two periods. Our forefathers were essentially a religious people. As a colony long before and as a government after the Revolution they recognized the Creator in all their official acts, and they continued to do so during a large part of the first half of this century. Alas, that this government ever abandoned the practice! This, with many others of the principles of our ancestors, has become undermined by the influx of the people of all the nations of Europe, many of whom form a very dangerous element of our population. If this emigration is not in some way restricted and the laws relating to it modified there is danger that the country will become un-Americanized, and that the religious principle and regard for law which were such prominent features of our early history may disappear. Let us hope that "in God we trust," which is stamped on some of our coins, will be received, in some measure at least, as the recognition due from this government to the Almighty Ruler of all things, and that we may still have the fulfillment of the promise attached to the command, "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths."*

The first thirty years of General Paterson's life were spent in Connecticut, the following seventeen years, including the period of the Revolution, in Massachusetts, and the last seventeen years of his life in the State of New York. Shortly after his death his dwelling-house and office with all their contents were burned, and his voluminous papers, records, and memoranda were destroyed. This circumstance makes a detailed account of his eventful and interesting life peculiarly difficult. The history of months at a time is frequently lost. No one except a person who has undertaken the task can understand what a labor it is to collect the history of men who were distinguished in their own days, and honored and loved by their countrymen, unless the data has been collated from their own diaries or manuscripts, or gathered within the lives of the

* Proverbs iii. 6.

generation of their contemporaries; but when no such colla- 1808
tion has been made, and when records have been destroyed,
as is the case with many of the Revolutionary soldiers, and
especially of General Paterson, every vestige of whose papers,
manuscripts, and journals was destroyed by the burning of
his house, the task becomes surrounded with the greatest com-
plications. Of General Paterson it is true that in whatever
State, county, or town he lived he was a prominent man. His
life was passed in three States, in each of which he distin-
guished himself; but removing from Massachusetts, the scene
of his most brilliant labors, to an almost unsettled part of
New York State, he died and was buried in an obscure place,
away from those most familiar with his patriotic services; his
grave had been neglected, and his memory had been almost
forgotten. He was also one of the brightest figures in the
early history of the States in which he lived. Although he
was one of those who anticipated the Revolution, prepared
for it, and from the first news of the battle of Lexington
acted the part of a great patriot and a brave soldier, ready
to serve his country in time of war with ability and fidelity,
and filled in time of peace places of great honor, trust, and
responsibility in all three of the States in which he lived,
yet he seems to have been forgotten in all of them, probably
because no one of them could claim an exclusive right to him.
His own journals and records having been destroyed, what has
passed into history has to be collected at almost infinite pains,
from his official camp orders, from the army orderly books
scattered through many libraries, in several States, from Rev-
olutionary records, from the collectors of autographs, histories
of the times,* and the family traditions, which in almost every
case have been supported by some collateral evidence.

It is fitting that public demonstrations should be made, and
that stately monuments of stone should be erected to the na-
tion's patriots. Such testimony influences successive genera-
tions of children as they pass by them on their way to school,
or as they rally round them as goals in their games; it incites

* See Appendix I.

1808 the young men and women who from generation to generation are coming into the activities of life, when they read the epitaphs on these monuments, to have noble aspirations in fulfilling their duty to their Creator, to themselves, their neighbors, the State, and the country, and to try to make the world better for their having lived in it.

APPENDIX.

A

THE PATERSON FAMILIES.

THERE were living in Farmington at this time two brothers, William and Edward Paterson, and a sister, Anna. They came from Scotland in 1740, and lived on the same street with Major John Paterson. They introduced into Connecticut the tin industry, which has become such an important article of manufacture in that part of the State. They were probably connections of the Major's family, but exactly what the relations were has not been ascertained. Another William Paterson came to Trenton, N. J., with his father, Richard Paterson, in 1747. He graduated at Princeton in 1763, and studied law. He was a delegate to the Convention of 1787; United States Senator in 1789, but resigned when he was elected Governor and Chancellor of the State of New Jersey, which office he filled for three years. He was then appointed a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and filled the office until he died in 1806. Another family of Paterson came to Billerica, Middlesex County, Mass., twenty miles from Boston, which was settled in 1650. Still another settled in Baltimore. This last family was still in communication with the families of the same name which resided near New Britain in the early part of this century. All of these families were Scotch, and came to this country within a few years of each other. I have not been able to trace the connection between these five families, though every indication points to the fact that they were related. Republicanism was so intense after the Revolution that papers were destroyed as valueless which would now be priceless. Armorial bearings which would have been a clue were discarded. When they were again adopted they were often taken from Burke's "Peerage," and sometimes were ignorantly altered, so as to become rather a source of confusion in tracing relationships; while, when not too much altered, they point to the general family relation with certainty. A number of such pictures have been examined without the possibility of tracing the connection which it is believed exists.

B

WILL OF MAJOR PATERSON.

(From original on file in the Probate Office, Hartford.)

In the Name of God, Amen, the Eleventh Day of May in the year of our Lord 1759, I John Paterson, of Farmington in the County of Hartford and Colony of Connecticut in New England, being by the providence of God Called to Serve my King and Country in the present Intended Expedition against our Northern Enemies the French, being of Sound and perfect mind and memory, Blessed be God therefor. Calling to mind the Danger of martiall life and the Mortallity of my body, Knowing that it is appointed for men once to Die: Do Make and ordain this my last Will and Testament—that is to say Principally and first of all I give and Recommend my Soul into the hands of God who gave it, hoping for the pardon of all my Sins and the grace of God to Eternall life only through Christ Jesus my Glorious Redeemer, And my Body I Commit to the Earth to be buried in decent Christian Burial, at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter Mentioned, nothing Doubting but at the Generall Resurrection I shall receive the Same again by the Mighty power of God.—And as Touching Such worldly goods and Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me in this life, I give and Dispose of the Same in the following maner and form viz. + Imprimis to my dearly beloved Wife Ruth Paterson I give and bequeath to her and to her heirs and assigns forever the one half of a lot of land I bought of Sergt. Ebenezer Smith in the Sixth Division of land west of the Reserved land in Farmington and also all my Right in the Common and undivided land in Farmington part of which is already drawn for, and all my Personall Estate except my Negro Girl Rose, After my Just Debts are duly Discharged and paid, And also the use of what I shall give to my Son John Paterson in this Instrument untill he shall arrive at the age of Twenty one years, and the use and Improvement of the one half during her life and she to be at the Cost of my son John's Education at Colledge.

Item: to my Daughter Mary the wife of John Peiree of Litchfield I give and bequeath to her, her heirs and assigns forever the one half of a Tract of land Lying in the Parish of New Cambridge in Farmington which I bought of Aaron Aspinwall, and a tract of land Lying in the Township of Harwington in Litchfield County, which I bought of Joseph Curtiss.—Item: I give to my daughter Sarah the wife of James Lusk of Farmington, to her heirs and assigns I give and bequeath forever the House which they now live in, the Barn and home lot on which sd. Buildings Stand with other the appurtenances thereof, and five acres of land I bought

of Joseph Hart Junr. and Seven acres of land Lying in the near Meadow which I bought of Joseph Kellogg of New Hartford, and also all my right in the fourth Alotment in the first division of land West of ye reserved Land Containing one hundred acres, all which lands Lye in the bounds of the Township of Farmington.—Item: to my Daughter Ann the wife of the Reverend Stephen Holmes of [Saybrook crossed out] I give and bequeath to her and to her heirs and assigns forever the other half of that Tract of land in New Cambridge which I bought of Aaron Aspinwall, and my Negro girl Rose.—Item: to my Daughter Ruth Paterson I give and bequeath to her and to her heirs and assigns forever all that land which I now own which was David Curtiss' land lying West of Robert Woodruff's home-lot and buting South with the Remaining part of my Farm, West and north with highways, and in case she do not marry I give her the Improvement of one fourth part of my dwelling house, and one fourth part of one of my Barns.—Item: I give unto my Son John Paterson and to his heirs and assigns forever I give and bequeath the Remaining part of my Farm, which I now live on with the buildings Standing thereon and all other appurtenances thereof and five acres of Land in Weathersfield, which I bought of Joseph Kellogg of Weathersfield.—And I do hereby ordain, Make, and appoint my Wife Ruth Paterson to be Executrix, and my Son in Law John Peirce of Litchfield to be my Executor to this my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the Day and year above written, Signed, Sealed, Pronounced and Declared by the Said John Paterson as his last Will and Testament in presence of us Witnesses

JNO. PATERSON

SAMUEL NEWELL

TIMOTHY PITKIN

EBENEZER SMITH

{ Exhibited in Court
 { Hartford, October 25, 1762.
 XIX. 70.

C

BOND OF MAJOR PATERSON AS PAYMASTER.*

Know all men by these Presents that we John Patterson and David Andrews both of Torrington in the County of Hartford are holden and firmly do stand bound and obliged unto the Governor and Company of his Majesties English Colony of Connecticut in New England in the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds Lawfull money of the said Colony to be paid to the said Governor and Company to the which payment well and truly to

* Presented to me by W. R. Benjamin of New York.

be made and done we the said John Patterson & David Andrews do bind ourselves our Heirs Executors and administrators Joyntly and Severally firmly by these Presents

Sealed with our Seals Dated at Hartford this 2d Day of April Anno Domini 1762

The Condition of the above Obligation is such that whereas the said John Patterson hath undertaken to act as Paymaster to a certain Company of Foot Soldiers to be raised to serve under him and under the Superior Command of Sir Jeffrey Amherst the ensuing Campaign and in his Majesties Service in the pay of this Government now if the said John Patterson Pay-master as aforesaid shall well and truly perform & discharge his said trust and office and without any unnecessary or unreasonable delay well and truly pay and render to the Severall officers and Soldiers of said Company all such sum or sums of money as on settlement of their accounts shall appear due and payable to them respectively and as he shall have orders from ye Pay Table to receive out of the Publick Treasury then and in such Case the above Obligation shall be void otherwise shall remain in full Power and Virtue in the Law

Signed Sealed & Dd. in
presence of

JOHN LEDYARD
JANE ELLERY

JNO PATERSON (Seal)
DAVID ANDREWS (Seal)

(Indorsed on outside)

MAJOR JOHN PATERSON
Military Bond 1762.*

D

PART OF THE SUBSCRIPTION LIST TO BUILD THE COURT-HOUSE IN LENOX.†

We the subscribers do hereby promise and oblige ourselves our Heirs and administrators to pay Mr. Henry William Dwight Treasurer of the County of Berkshire or his successor in said office the sum affixed to our names respectively upon condition that the Court House and Gaol are built in the Town of Lenox according to the present Law of this Commonwealth said payments to be made by us respectively in such materials and Labour as may be necessary for erecting said buildings and in such

* This document is indorsed "Major John Paterson Military Bond 1762," and was signed after he had been appointed a captain in the royal service.

† The rest of this list cannot, owing to the age of the paper, be deciphered.

Witness our hands this 24th of September, 1784:

JOHN WHITLOCK.

This is one of the subscription lists, a few names following which are illegible.

E

APPOINTMENT OF MAJOR-GENERALS.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR, BY THE SECRETARY,
JUNE 7, 1786.*

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives :

The Major Generals chosen for the several divisions of the militia have respectively accepted the choice and commissions have in consequence of it been sent to them viz :

To Major General Benjamin *Lincoln*, of the first division, comprehending the county of *Suffolk*.

To Major General *Titcomb*, of the second division, comprehending the county of *Essex*.

To Major General *Brooks*, of the third division, comprehending the county of *Middlesex*.

To Major General *Shepard*, of the fourth division, comprehending the county of *Hampshire*.

To Major General *Cobb*, of the fifth division, comprehending the counties of *Plymouth*, *Barnstable*, *Bristol*, *Dukes County*, and *Nantucket*.

To Major General *Goodwin*, of the sixth division, comprehending the counties of *York* and *Cumberland*.

To Major General *Wamer*, of the seventh division, comprehending the county of *Worcester*.

To Major General *Lithgow*, of the eighth division, comprehending the county of *Lincoln*.

To Major General *Patterson*, of the ninth division, comprehending the county of *Berkshire*.

F

DEFENSE OF GENERAL PATERSON.

In House of Representatives, March 5, 1787.

Whereas reports have been circulated respecting the conduct of Major-General Paterson whilst commanding a corps of militia in the County of Berkshire in February last, injurious to that officer, and whereas the dignity of the Government, as well as of Major-General Paterson, requires an investigation of the facts relative to this matter; therefore

* Massachusetts Resolves, vol. vii., p. 18.

Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be and he is hereby requested to order a Court of Inquiry to be instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the merit or demerit of Major-General Paterson whilst commanding a corps of militia of the Commonwealth, called forth to suppress the late insurrection and rebellion, and that such further proceedings be adopted as in the opinion of His Excellency may be requisite for supporting the honor of Government, and for doing justice to the said officer.

Sent up for concurrence in Senate, March 5, 1787.

ARTEMUS WARD, Speaker.

Read and non-concurred.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Jun. President.*

(Letter from camp to a friend.)

PITTSFIELD, MASS., February 12, 1787.

General Paterson, you have heard, was suspected of doing wrong in making a treaty. We find that the report was ill founded and that he did all he was at that time authorized to do. He ordered Major Wiley, who commanded the rebels, to disperse his people immediately or he would fire upon them. Wiley immediately ordered his people to disperse, which they did. Wiley then requested General Paterson to promise his exertions in favor of himself and people with the Government that they might be tried for their conduct in this county. The General promised he would, but they must expect nothing more, for he could not give them any other assurance than his own personal recommendation, as he had no authority to do any such thing. I believe the affair has been represented very much to his disadvantage. He had not received any information of their being declared in a state of rebellion.†

G

DIARY OF THE SERVICES OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN PATERSON.

(Compiled from the American Archives, Journals of the Provincial Congresses, Orderly-books and Muster-rolls at Worcester and Boston, Manuscripts in the State House in Boston, Yale, and Connecticut in the Revolution.)

- 1774. May Great and General Court.
- 1774. July 6 Berkshire Convention at Stockbridge, Mass.
- 1774. October 7 First Continental Congress, Salem, Mass.

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 140.

† Worcester Magazine, vol. ii., No. 47.

1775. February 1...Second Continental Congress, Cambridge, Mass.
1775. May.....Returns of Field-officer Colonel John Paterson.
Lists of captains, ensigns, and lieutenants. (David Noble was one of the captains and A. Egleston was in his company.)
1775. May 26.....List of officers in Colonel Paterson's returns.
1775. May 26....."To the Hon. Provincial Congress. Colonel Paterson having satisfied this committee that his regiment is nearly full, we recommend to the Hon. Congress that said regiment be commissioned accordingly. Wm. Cooper, Secretary."
1775. June 9.....Cambridge. Consignment of arms to Colonel Paterson.
1775. June 10.....Cambridge.
1775. June 30.....A petition sent to Congress by Colonel Paterson asking for blankets for soldiers.
1775. July 10.....Colonel Paterson's regiment reports one wounded at Bunker Hill.
1775. July 22.....Headquarters at Cambridge. Colonel Paterson will remain at Post No. 3, by order of General Washington.
1775. August 18....Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 506.
1775. September 23.Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 445.
1775. October 3 Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 445.
1775. October 6 Continental 26th regiment of foot, Colonel John Paterson, of Lenox.
1775. October 17 ...Cambridge.
1775. November 2..Headquarters Cambridge. To select colonels for command in new regiments.
1775. December 30 .Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 459.
1776. January 8....Cambridge.
1776. January 15...Returns of Colonel Paterson.
1776. January 24...In Barracks on Prospect Hill.
1776. February 19..Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment returned ammunition.
1776. April 15.....Returns of Colonel Paterson's regiment in New York.
1776. May.....Four regiments (Poor's, Paterson's, Groaton's, and Bond's) by order of Congress detached to Canada.
1776. May 24.....First brigade, Poor, Paterson, Groaton, and Bond, arrived at Albany on their way to Canada.
1776. June 2.....Montreal. Colonel Paterson's list of prisoners in his regiment at battle of the Cedars.
1776. July 22.....Ticonderoga.

1777. January 1 to Dec. 31, 1779. "Continental service of General Paterson. By service from January, 1777, to December 31, 1779, is 36 months and — days, for which a nominal sum has been paid him by the continent.
 "One month and 20 days as colonel and 34 months and 10 days as brigadier-general.
 "By service from January 1, 1780, to December 31st, is 12 months, at 37 pounds 10 shillings per month, as brigadier-general."
1777. February 21..Date of commission as brigadier-general.
1777. March 26.....Colonel John Paterson in list of commissioned officers.
1778. June 28.....Monmouth, under General Washington.
1778. December 6...at Peekskill.
1779. May 27 at Peekskill.
1779. September ...at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1779. October.....at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1779. November ...at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1779. December....at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. January at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. February at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. March at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. April at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. April 29.....with two companies at Fishkill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. May 6 at Fishkill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. June at Fishkill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. July at Fishkill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. August at Peekskill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. September ...at Peekskill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. September 16 at Steenrapie, N. J.
1780. September 20 and 23, at Orangetown, N. Y.
1780. October 8 at Fishkill, N. Y.
1780. November 12 at Totoway, N. J.
1780. December....at Huts, West Point.
1781. January 1....at New Windsor.
1781. January at West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. February at West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. March at West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. April at West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. May at West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. June at West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. July.....Order of battle. Camp Philipsburg, near Dobbs' Ferry. "From Peekskill the troops returned down toward New York and took position at

Philipsburg, 5th, 8th, and 2d Massachusetts, under Brigadier-General Paterson. (Signed) Major-General Lincoln."

- 1781. July 21 at Verplanck's and Stony Point.
- 1781. August at West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. September ...at West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. October at West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. November ...at New Windsor (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. December....at Verplanck's Point, with General Washington
(1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. January at New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. February at New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. March at New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. April at New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. May at New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. June at West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. July at West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. August.....at West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. August to Order of battle. 2d Brigade of Massachusetts,
October under General Paterson; Major-General Howe's
 division, under General Heath.
- 1782. September ...in camp at Verplanck's. In this new encampment
 the army remained through September and greater
 part of October, making progress in drill and dis-
 cipline.
- 1782. October in camp at Verplanck's.
- 1782. November ...at New Windsor.
- 1782. December....at New Windsor.
- 1782. Camp, Verplanck's Point.
- 1783. January at New Windsor.
- 1783. February at New Windsor.
- 1783. March at Newburg.
- 1783. April at Newburg.
- 1783. May at Newburg.
- 1783. Summer Dissolution of Revolutionary army. The four
 Massachusetts regiments were retained to serve
 until the end of the war, December, 1783.
- 1783. June at Newburg.
- 1783. July at Philadelphia.
- 1783. August at Philadelphia.
- 1783. September ...at Philadelphia.
- 1783. September 25. Philadelphia. Troops to return to West Point to-
 morrow, and General Howe takes this oppor-
 tunity to express his high appreciation of the
 conduct of the officers.

1783. October.....at headquarters, West Point.
1783. November....at headquarters, West Point.
1783. December at headquarters, West Point.

H

UNVEILING OF THE PATERSON MONUMENT AT LENOX,
MAY 30TH, 1892, BEING DECORATION DAY.

The idea of removing the remains of General Paterson and his wife to Lenox, from which town he had rendered to the country his most distinguished services, in which his family had lived during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and of erecting a suitable monument to him and my grandfather, Major Egleston, originated many years ago. It could not, however, be carried out because it had never been possible to obtain the consent of the heirs of General Paterson, principally because there had been a plan to remove his remains to Rochester, New York, and to erect a suitable monument in the cemetery there. This plan failed in the year 1885 owing to the death of the originator of it. There was still, however, an unwillingness on the part of some of the heirs to have the remains removed. In the year 1886 I determined, if I could obtain the consent of the heirs and of the owners of the plots in which they were buried, to erect the monument. I made but little progress, however, until 1890, when I succeeded in eliciting the interest of W. H. Lee of New York, who is a distant relative of General Paterson's wife. He succeeded in getting the co-operation of Miss Maria Paterson Kilbourn, of Spencerport, N. Y., and of her sister, Mrs. Davis, of Yonkers, N. Y., who are granddaughters of General Paterson's daughter Maria, and in whose plot at Spencerport Mrs. Paterson had been buried, who after some trouble obtained the consent in writing. The consent of the town of Lenox was then asked to erect the monument in the small park at the top of the court-house hill, directly in front of the house which General Paterson built for himself, which was granted at a town meeting held April 6, 1889, when the following resolution was passed:

"Voted to allow Thomas Egleston to erect and maintain in the public square a monument to the memory of General John Paterson, provided the same be erected to the approval of a committee of the town to be appointed by the moderator.

"R. T. Auchmuty, William D. Curtis, and Henry Sedgwick were appointed that committee.

"[A true copy.]

"I. J. NEWTON, *Town Clerk.*"

The order for the execution of the monument, which had been designed by Thomas Egleston, of New York, was then given to R. Fisher & Co., of New York City.

At a special town meeting held in Lenox, May 12, 1892, it was

"Voted that the same committee, with Charles Carey and the selectmen added, be a committee of arrangements for the reception of the remains of General Paterson and Decoration Day exercises.

"Voted to raise and appropriate \$600 (six hundred dollars) in addition to the sum already appropriated for Decoration Day services, and that these appropriations be expended by the committee.

"[A true copy.]

"I. J. NEWTON, *Town Clerk.*"

On May 24, 1892, General Paterson's remains were removed from Whitney's Point, and the next day* the remains of Mrs. Paterson were removed from Spencerport. They arrived in Lenox on Thursday, May 26th, and were placed side by side in the northeast room of the house which they had built and lived in during their residence in Lenox, and where they had spent so many pleasant years in the early history of the town. This room, as it used to be when they were accustomed to be together in it, is filled with the morning sun. The remains were draped with the United States flag. They remained here, after more than seventy years of separation, bathed in sunshine, until Monday morning. The sight was a very impressive one, and one could not help a feeling of gladness that they who had been so united in life should be brought together again in their own house, in the room where they had so often enjoyed not only the sunshine of their day but the happiness of conjugal affection, as well as the dutiful love of their children. The respect with which these remains were treated by all the railroad officials, and the alacrity with which every wish was met and every formality gone through with, was gratifying in the extreme.

Owing to various delays, the monument and the grounds around it were not finished until late on Saturday night. The remains were to be reinterred on Decoration Day, which occurred on Monday. Before starting, the War Department at Washington had been asked for a detail of United States troops to do the last honors over General Paterson's grave. The correspondence relating to the subject is given below:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 6, 1892.

"SIR: As requested in your letter of the 2d instant, I have the honor to advise you that the necessary orders will be issued for the Command-

* At the request of Mr. W. H. Lee, of New York, Mrs. Paterson's remains were removed at his expense.

ing General of the Department of the East to send a Company from New York Harbor to Lenox to do honor to the remains of the late Major General John Paterson of the Revolutionary Army upon the occasion of their reinterment at Lenox.

"Very respectfully,

"L. A. GRANT,

"*Acting Secretary of War.*

"DR. THOMAS EGLESTON,

"Columbia College,

"Forty-ninth Street and Fourth Avenue,

"New York City."

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST,

"GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, NEW YORK CITY, May 12, 1892.

"SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 59.

[EXTRACT.]

* * * * *

"2. Under instructions received from the Major General Commanding the Army, to send a company from New York Harbor to Lenox, Mass., to do honor to the remains of Major General *Paterson*, of the Revolutionary Army, on their reinterment there on Memorial Day, May 30, 1892, Company A, 6th Infantry, will proceed to Lenox, Mass., in season to perform this duty there upon the day appointed.

"Captain *A. M. Wetherill*, commanding the company, will confer with Dr. *Thomas Egleston*, Columbia College, 49th Street and 4th Avenue, New York City, as to the details of the ceremony.

"Upon the completion of the duty required at Lenox, Mass., the company will return to its station at Fort Wood.

* * * * *

"BY COMMAND OF MAJOR GENERAL HOWARD:

"GEO. D. RUGGLES,

"*Assistant Adjutant General.*

"OFFICIAL:

"G. W. MACDONALD,

"*Aide-de-camp.*

"DR. THOS. EGLESTON,

"N. Y. City."

"FORT WOOD, BEDLOE'S ISLAND,

"NEW YORK, May 14, 1892.

"To Dr. *Thomas Egleston*,

"Columbia College,

"Forty-ninth Street and Fourth Avenue, New York.

"SIR: I have been directed by General Howard, commanding the Department of the East, to confer with you in relation to the details of the ceremony connected with the reinterment of the remains of Major General *Paterson* of the Revolutionary Army.

"Will you kindly appoint an hour when I can see you, either in New York or here, so that I may have a full understanding as to the time of leaving, arrangements for the accommodation of my company, and all particulars connected with the duty?"

"Very respectfully

"Your obedient servant,

"A. M. WETHERILL,

"Captain 6th Infantry, Commanding."

The town had been decorated with great taste by the committee and the citizens. The buildings on the line of the main street were profusely ornamented with flowers, flags, and bunting. On the old court-house was a large tablet with the inscription :

BERKSHIRE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

1791

Built by Subscription.

GENERAL PATERSON, £80.

On Monday morning, the 30th instant, the troops arrived in Lenox. The graves had been previously prepared and the headstones of white Italian marble were placed in position. At twelve o'clock the remains of Mrs. Paterson were carried to the cemetery and placed in the Egleston plot, where two of her children, her son-in-law, and one grandchild had been previously buried. A tent had been erected on the green, between Sedgwick Hall and the Curtis Hotel, where Colonel Auchmuty and the reception committee received the visitors. By one o'clock several thousand people from all parts of the county and from adjacent States had assembled to witness the ceremony. They were in carriages, on horseback, and on foot. While the various delegations were arriving and being assigned to their respective positions in the line of march the band played several airs.

The programme of the ceremonies as arranged by the committee was as follows :

1. Reception of military companies, Grand Army posts, local and visiting societies and invited guests, by the Committee of Arrangements at Sedgwick Hall at 2 o'clock P.M.
2. Procession to form near Trinity Church at 2.30 ; line of march up Walker Street to Main to the Egleston house where General Paterson lived, where the remains of General Paterson will be met and escorted to the grave by Company A, 6th U. S. Infantry, up Main to the cemetery.
3. Decoration of soldiers' graves.
4. Unveiling of the monument.

5. Presentation of the monument to the town by Dr. Egleston.

6. Address by Hon. Joseph Tucker, of Pittsfield, from a platform in front of Sedgwick Hall.

The line when formed marched to the cemetery in the following order :

Chief Marshal J. W. Cooney.

His Aides, John W. Cooney, Jr., and Harvey H. Dewey.

Germania band of Pittsfield.

Company A, 6th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

Remains of General Paterson.

Company M of Adams, Massachusetts Militia.

Father Mathew Cadets of Pittsfield.

Father Mathew Cadets of Lee.

Bartlett Camp Sons of Veterans of Pittsfield.

Grand Army Veterans.

"Mrs. Gaines," Colonel Auchmuty's war-horse.*

Carriages containing speakers and distinguished guests.

One hundred and fifty young women dressed in white and carrying flowers.

St. Joseph's band of Pittsfield.

Battalion of school children carrying flags.

Ancient Order of Hibernians, Societies of Lenox and Lee.

Among the guests in carriages were : Colonel Walter Cutting, representing Governor Russell, Colonel R. T. Auchmuty, William Mahanna, C. E. Casey, Hon. Joseph Tucker, the orator of the day, Professor Thomas Egleston, who gave the monument to the town, Rev. W. M. Grosvenor, Selectman Edward McDonald, General Wilson, Sheriff John Crosby, W. H. Lee, Professor J. S. Schanck of Princeton College, W. D. Curtis, Edwin S. Barrett of Concord and Nathan Warren of Waltham, president and registrar respectively of the Massachusetts Sons of the Revolution, Colonel C. M. Whelden, representing the department G. A. R. council of administration, and General Morris Schaff, representing West Point. Among other prominent gentlemen present were Senator Hickox of northern Berkshire, County Treasurer George H. Tucker, Hon. Marshall Wileox, District Attorney Hibbard, Levi Beebe, J. C. West, J. P. Quigley of Lee, R. H. McDonald of Housatonic, W. Paterson of South Amboy, N. J., a descendant of Chief-Justice Paterson, Henry Bishop of Chicago, and Mr. and Mrs. Booth of New Britain.

* This horse was captured at the battle of Gaines's Mills and was used by Colonel Auchmuty during the rest of the Civil War. She was then thirty-six years old. Though quite gray, she is quite spirited. No work is required of her; she enjoys an honored old age, and is a feature in every public occasion in the town.

Of the descendants of General Paterson who were present were Miss Maria Paterson Kilbourn of Spencerport, N. Y., and her sister, Mrs. E. T. Davis of Yonkers, N. Y., descendants of his daughter Maria; Thomas Egleston of New York, descended from his daughter Hannah; Dr. J. Schanck of Princeton, whose wife, Maria Robbins, was the daughter of Hannah Paterson's eldest daughter; and Mr. William H. Lee of New York, a connection of Mrs. General Paterson.

The parade formed at half-past two opposite Trinity Church and went up Walker to Main Street. On reaching Dr. Egleston's house the military companies formed a hollow square, the soldiers presented arms, and the column was broken to receive the remains of General Paterson, which were in an oak coffin, covered with the United States flag. They were placed between Company A, 6th U. S. Infantry, and Company M of Adams. The line was then re-formed. The column moved up Main Street, almost every house of which was gayly decorated, the bands playing martial music. When in line the procession reached from the monument to the foot of the church hill.

The military formed about the grave, Company M of Adams on the north and the U. S. Infantry on the east. The coffin was lowered into the grave by Colonel Schaff, Colonel Welden, Colonel Adelbert Deland and Charles H. Rathburn from the Housatonic Grand Army Post. The Rev. Mr. Grosvenor read the collect for All-Saints' Day and for Easter Even. The U. S. troops fired three volleys over the grave. The graves of the soldiers of the Revolution, of the War of 1812, and of the Civil War were then decorated with flowers and flags, and the column re-formed and marched down Main Street and around the monument, which at the sound of the bugle was unveiled. The lines were then broken opposite the speaker's stand, built in front of Sedgwick Hall. Seats had been prepared for the speakers and invited guests on the platform, and settees in front of the platform, but the crowd was so great that the seats prepared were all filled and a great crowd assembled upon the outside. After selections had been played by the Germania Band, Colonel Auchmuty introduced Colonel Walter Cutting, who had been sent as the representative of the Governor of Massachusetts, he being unable to attend. Colonel Cutting said it gave him great pleasure to be sent on such a duty as to represent His Excellency, the Governor of the State, first, because the Governor had honored him with such a commission, and second, because he always enjoyed coming to Lenox, and was extremely pleased in seeing the people engaged in such patriotic duties as occupied their attention now. He expressed for Governor Russell his great regret at being unable to be present on this occasion.

Colonel Auchmuty thanked him in the name of the town of Lenox for the kind words he had spoken and for the message which the Governor had sent. He then presented Dr. Egleston, who was received with applause.

On rising, Dr. Egleston said :

"Colonel Auchmuty, ladies and gentlemen : I take great pleasure in presenting to the town of Lenox this monument which I have erected to the memory of Major-General Paterson, who was a citizen and a worthy representative of this town before, during, and after the Revolutionary War. It is a monument not only to him, but to integrity, honor, and patriotism as well, and will, I hope, be a perpetual reminder to old and young that the State of Massachusetts, the county of Berkshire, and the town of Lenox have always had a prominent place in the defense of liberty, honor, and justice, and have always quickly and enthusiastically responded with both treasure and men when the country has called for defenders of its liberties. General Paterson heard of the battle of Lexington here in Lenox on Friday at noon, and Saturday morning at sunrise he started with his regiment for Boston, and from that time never left the army until it was disbanded in December, 1783. He held the highest rank of any soldier from Berkshire County, and was the youngest officer of his grade, except Lafayette, in the Revolutionary army. When the State called on him for service during Shays' Rebellion in 1786-87 he answered as promptly. It is my intention to place a sum of money in the hands of trustees as an endowment fund for the proper care and preservation of this monument, so that it may be no cost to the town, and may go down to posterity to remind both the present and future generations to aspire to high aims and noble deeds."

Colonel Auchmuty responded for the town, and said that at the next town meeting the monument would be accepted. He said that the shaft would stand for hundreds of years, to show that those are best remembered who serve their country and do their duty. He then introduced Judge Tucker as a brave soldier, an upright judge, and a loyal citizen, one who, like General Paterson, went forth from this town at the call to arms. Judge Tucker was greeted with prolonged applause, and he stepped forward and spoke as follows :*

* Hon. Joseph Tucker was born in Lenox, Mass. ; graduated at Williams' College in 1851 ; was admitted to the Berkshire bar in 1854 ; practiced law in St. Louis, Mo., till 1860 ; enlisted in the 49th Massachusetts regiment in August, 1862 ; was appointed first lieutenant of Company 7 D of that regiment in October, 1862 ; went with the regiment to Louisiana in January, 1863 ; in March was appointed as aide on the staff of the first brigade of the first division of the Army of the Gulf ; on May 21st, 1863, lost his right leg at the battle of Plains' Store, near Port Hudson, La. ; was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1865 ; was a member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1866 and 1867 ; was United States register in bankruptcy in 1867 and 1868 ; was Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts from 1869 to 1872, inclusive ; has been justice of the district court of central Berkshire since 1872.

SPEECH OF JUDGE TUCKER OF PITTSFIELD AT THE
DEDICATION OF THE PATERSON MONUMENT.

(Lenox, May 30, 1892.)

NATURE is giving us our annual object-lesson: out of apparent death young life is springing; over the skeleton trees, over the bleak, harsh earth, she is weaving soft, flowing draperies beautiful in color and outline; out of ugliness has come beauty. Lenox is arrayed as a bride coming from her chamber. This fresh, joyous life of nature reacts upon our life; as pure and limpid water, released from its winter bonds by this summer sun, gladly bubbles up from our hillside springs and dresses the turf in living green, so our hearts, released from wintry bonds of selfishness, overflow with goodwill. Especially do we now remember our dead. We dislike to see their graves covered with snow and ice, to hear the fierce winds of winter blowing over them. When we see the tender grass softly covering them, hear the soft May winds singing gentle requiems over them, we are comforted; we feel that somehow nature has a message also for them. Perhaps these thoughts may have caused the selection of this day for Memorial Day in memory of our dead. Most of the dead in yonder cemetery belong especially to some family, but these served for us all, for you, for unborn generations, and so they are our dead. If this be true, can we do less than set apart one day in the lovely springtime in which by public and stately ceremonial the people, in whose service many of them died, shall make solemn testimonial in memory of their self-sacrifice? This is surely good public policy. Americans are notable the world over for their tremendous earnestness in business; their whole being is utterly engrossed in it; they have no leisure; regard holidays as time wasted; and are so bound up in the material things of the world that they tend toward a contempt of the higher things of the spirit. They are apt to forget that our splendid

material success is almost wholly due to the spiritual forces which only materialize in the presence and at the call of humble and devout seekers after truth. The body is powerfully influenced by what it feeds upon; likewise the spirit. It is wholesome to turn away, when possible, from private interests and dwell upon wearisome, dangerous, unselfish action. In a vast majority of cases a simple love of country was the controlling motive which actuated and glorified our dead. No one can catch even a glimpse of the true significance of these ceremonies without an uplifted ideal of a true life, a more vivid conception of the true meaning of the stars and stripes.

On this Memorial Day we of middle age and beyond naturally are much engrossed by our thoughts and memories of the late war, in which we were either actors or spectators. We have been so impressed by its magnitude, by the vital importance of its issues, and the costly sacrifices it demanded, that we nearly forget the remote past, when the institutions we so gloriously defended were founded by the wisdom, the blood of our fathers. A nation of thirty millions, strong, rich, possessed of all the appliances of modern science, consumed four years of bloody war to preserve the edifice which cost three millions of poor colonists seven years of bloody war and untold sacrifices to build. A generation has grown to maturity since the surrender at Appomattox, yet we can almost hear the rhythmic cadence of battalions marching past our doors to the front. At thousands of firesides the veteran has shouldered his crutch and told to admiring children how fields were won. The prose, poetry, and oratory of this generation have teemed with eulogy of our heroes. Not until quite lately have we begun to study the remote results of this war, to investigate its remote causes. To do this intelligently we have to go back to the beginning. Never before have the principles of scientific historical criticism been relentlessly applied to our past; in the flood of light thus focused upon them, our heroes of the Revolution are seen, not dimly and vaguely, but clearly, in their true heroic pro-

portions. A clearer perception of the results of the War of the Rebellion has awakened us to the priceless value of the War of the Revolution. Berkshire in those old days was a frontier settlement; its sparse population was largely settled on its farms. Not one large village was within its borders; its centers of trade we should now call hamlets. The first permanent settler in Lenox came here only twenty-five years before that war; within twenty years before it, the people of Lenox were driven away by fear of the Indians. Its people had the characteristics of the frontier of that day: they had brawn, courage, brains, and force of character, and were a religious people. Their leaders had these qualities. The captains of New England were men of eminent sagacity and wisdom. The town records of those days are rich in wise statesmanship and fervent patriotism. The English statesman Burke said, "The chief function of a government is to administer justice." England by new laws decreed that councilors and judges of higher courts of Massachusetts held their offices at the king's pleasure. The governor was a creature of the king; the sheriff a creature of the governor; the jurors, formerly selected by the towns, were now to be appointed by the sheriff. Thus the king alone administered justice. This was a direct blow at a most sacred right. Berkshire was prompt to lead in finding a remedy. The first county court to be held in Massachusetts, after the new laws were enacted, was on the third Tuesday of August, 1774, at Great Barrington; on that day fifteen hundred men assembled, unarmed, at Great Barrington, and "filled the courthouse and the avenues to it so full that no passage could be found for the judges." The sheriff commanded the people to make way for the court; the reply was, "We know no court except that provided by our ancient laws; the court must leave town." It did depart. No court under a royal commission ever sat again in Berkshire. Thus a complete act of revolution, striking at the chief function of government, was perpetrated here long before the war, more destructive of the king's authority than the destruction of the

tea in Boston Harbor. I speak of it as showing vividly what kind of men laid the foundation of Berkshire institutions.

It is the peculiar felicity of this occasion that on this day, set apart by the statutes of Massachusetts and by the unanimous sentiment of its people to renew our annual tribute to our dead soldiers, we can, in addition to our usual ceremonies, and as a fitting and grateful sequel to them, dedicate a permanent, beautiful, and artistic Memorial of the most distinguished soldier of Berkshire—I might perhaps truthfully say, of western Massachusetts—in the War of the Revolution. In our natural pride and satisfaction in our recent triumphant defense of the government, we are conscious of a certain neglect of those great men who created it; and so to-day we single out a representative man, of Lenox and Berkshire in the War of the Revolution, for especial honor.

In these days no one can escape an immediate and indelible record of his public, and most of his private, acts. The omnipresent reporter flashes them to the daily press, which presents them to the world for judgment. In the Civil War, on the day after a battle, the people at home knew more of its details than those engaged in it; brave deeds, great services, had immediate and permanent record. In those days no one at home knew anything about a great battle for perhaps weeks, and not then except by a chance letter or a wandering soldier. There was no daily press and hardly a post-office. To know the deeds of their soldiers the people must rely on tradition or search dry official reports. We should bear this in mind when we examine the record of the man whom we especially remember to-day—

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN PATERSON OF LENOX.

Many men are quite fortunate in their ancestors; not so many ancestors are very fortunate in their descendants. His grandson Thomas Eggleston left Lenox in early manhood, and became one of the great merchants of New York, with all the great qualities of those merchants of his day. His

four great-grandsons are well known here to be worthy of their ancestry. The memory of Henry Egleston is dear in many Berkshire hearts. The mention of General Paterson in our histories is quite vague, and seems to depend mainly on tradition. Dr. Thomas Egleston, a great-grandson, and a distinguished member of the scientific department of Columbia College, has long engaged in a laborious and elaborate search of original official documents, libraries, colonial annals, and all other possible sources of information, and has gathered a number of very interesting facts, from which he has made an admirable sketch of the life and services of General Paterson (which I trust will soon be published). I shall avail myself of these facts to make a brief, sharp outline of his civil and military career. His grandfather came from Scotland, was one of the first settlers of Wethersfield, Conn., and married there in 1704. John Paterson, father of the General, moved to that part of Farmington, Conn., now known as New Britain, and there married. He was well educated, and a large owner of land; had much military ability; was a member of the local train bands in his youth; served with distinction, as a captain, under Wolfe in the French and Indian Wars; served as Captain under Lord Albemarle in the West Indies; was present at the capture of Havana, and died there of yellow fever in 1762, with a brilliant record. John Paterson, his only son, was born in Farmington, Conn., in 1744; graduated at Yale in 1762, studied law there, and practiced his profession there successfully.

In 1766 he married Miss Elizabeth Warren Lee of that town. She was a woman of great force of character, and very charming in person and manner. Early in 1774 he came with his family to Lenox. He was then thirty years old, over six feet in height, a nervous, active man, very powerful, and a noted pedestrian. On July 6th of that year a congress of delegates from all the towns of the county, made up of their ablest men, met in Stockbridge. John Ashley of Sheffield presided; Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge was clerk; John Paterson was a delegate. The famous

"Solemn League and Covenant" was adopted. It was the foundation of the Massachusetts rebellion. This was a covenant "not to import, purchase, or consume any goods or manufactures which shall arrive from Great Britain from and after the 1st of October next; any person refusing to sign it is to be treated with all the neglect deserved; any shopkeeper refusing to sign is not to be traded with." We should call this a boycott. Within ten days Mr. Paterson obtained the signatures of one hundred and ten men of Lenox to this treasonable paper. In August was the meeting in Great Barrington I have spoken of; there is no record that John Paterson was there, but I am absolutely sure he was. He was planned that way. I am confident that it was quietly arranged for at the Stockbridge Congress, though Colonel Ashley, the chairman, was one of the judges. In September Governor Gage warned the people to elect representatives to the General Court to be held October 5th, at Salem; after the election he revoked the call, being alarmed by the instructions of many towns to their representatives. John Paterson was elected by Lenox, and was instructed to proceed to Salem, and if the governor appeared, to unite with him in finding a remedy for public wrongs; if he did not appear, to go on without him. He did not appear, and after waiting for him one day, the legislature proceeded to declare itself a Provincial Congress, and went on just as if there were no governor—another act of high treason. Mr. Paterson was ordered to investigate the condition of the commissary department, and thus got full knowledge of the resources of the province, so that when he came home, Lenox, doubtless on his motion, appointed him one of a committee to procure grain for public use, and appropriated twenty pounds sterling to buy a stock of ammunition. He was then convinced that war was coming, and resolved that his home should be ready for it. In January, 1775, he was again elected. This time they did not wait a call from the governor; the people called their representatives for the first time in Massachusetts. February 14th he offered a resolution to

send an agent to Canada to induce that people to combine with us. John Brown of Pittsfield was appointed agent. He was on a committee to revise the commission of the "Committee of Safety and Supplies." This was important work, as that committee was the executive head of the people; it took the place of the governor. April 24th he was placed on this committee for this county. He was very active in all military matters, then of the highest importance.

I submit that this is a remarkable record. He came here early in 1774; within eighteen months he was a delegate to perhaps the most important convention ever held in this county, certainly the most perilous; was twice a representative of the town; was a prominent member; was made a member of the Executive Committee of the province; was conspicuous in persuading his people to rebel against their government. It may be suggested that probably he was a plausible, pushing office-seeker; on the contrary, he was a peculiarly modest, reticent man, never pushing himself. It is certain he never forgot he was a gentleman. No! he was a born leader and organizer of men. It was a solemn time in Massachusetts. They were a loyal people; they believed the king would redress their wrongs if bad men did not intervene. Most of them condemned the Boston tea-party of the year before, but the relentless logic of events swept them on: they signed the League and Covenants; they abolished the courts; they formed a new government. Then came the logical conclusion, the clash of arms. This was no time for demagogues; it was too early for that crop: earnest, honest, able men were sought for. They instinctively said, "Here is a man we need." The war had come, and he had long awaited it; he with other noted men of the county prepared the people for it. Between the First and Second Congresses he had been active in recruiting, equipping, and drilling a Berkshire regiment of minute-men, to be ready at a moment's notice. He became their colonel.

The battle of Lexington occurred on Wednesday, April 19th; the news, coming by relays of couriers, reached Lenox

Friday noon; on Saturday, April 22d; at sunrise, Colonel Paterson marched for Cambridge with a regiment fully armed and equipped, nearly every man in uniform. This beats the record of the early march of Massachusetts men in 1861, which brought much honor to the State. It was done without the aid of steam or lightning; there must have been some rough riding over these hills the night before. June 15th the regiment became the 15th Foot of the Continental Infantry. It built a fort where now is the city of Somerville, and there remained to guard the flank of the army through the fight at Bunker Hill and until the evacuation of Boston, and then marched with Washington to Staten Island. April 13, 1776, it was ordered to Canada. It had then six hundred men in fine condition. Before it reached Canada Montgomery had fallen, and Arnold, wounded, had retreated to Montreal, where it arrived early in May. There it suffered terribly with smallpox. June 8th there were but six men fit for duty, the rest being in the hospital sick with inoculated smallpox. It fought the disastrous battle of the Cedars with the British and Indians, losing many men; sixty-seven were captured. In September Colonel Paterson was in command at Fort George and was recommended by General Gates for promotion. In November they joined Gates near Saratoga with three hundred and thirty-one men and were ordered to rejoin Washington. His army was retreating through New Jersey; they joined him December 8th, with only two hundred and twenty men. The term of enlistment of most of his army was about to expire, and they were in a desperate condition. It was the most gloomy period of the war. But how fortunate for Paterson and the Berkshire men that they came in time to have a share in that masterly crossing of the broad Delaware, filled with floating ice, to the brilliant victory at Trenton on that stormy Christmas Eve, and two days after in the brilliant flank movement and victory at Princeton. The country was again full of hope and courage. For his conduct he was promoted to be brigadier-general in February, 1777, and was ordered to Ticonderoga. On its evacua-

tion he joined Gates, with a brigade of four Massachusetts regiments, near Saratoga. His brigade was in nearly all the engagements near Saratoga, and had heavy losses. General Paterson's horse was killed under him. After the surrender of Burgoyne the Brigade was at Valley Forge through the winter and until June, when a council of war was held to discuss the grave question of a general engagement. General Paterson was an ardent advocate of it. The council resulted in the fiercely contested battle of Monmouth; at its close the enemy retreated. On one of the bas-reliefs of the monument, erected in 1884 by New Jersey to commemorate this battle, is a group of the officers composing the council. In the group is John Paterson next to La Fayette. After the battle he was ordered to take command of the fortress at West Point. His brigade left there just before Arnold's treason became known. He was a member of the court-martial which tried Major André, and was the youngest member except La Fayette. From this time most of the fighting was in the south. He was at West Point and its vicinity till the close of the war, and much of the time in command of that post. It was considered the military key of the northern department, and while the bulk of the army was in the south it was important that this post should be intrusted to safe hands—and it was. Peace was proclaimed April 17, 1783; the army was disbanded, but General Paterson and his brigade were kept at West Point till December 8, 1783. On September 30th he was promoted to be major-general.

I am quite well aware that this is a very bald outline of a distinguished military career. Shortly after his death his house and all his papers, letters, diaries, and private memoranda were burned. If we only had the letter which I am sure he wrote to his wife on that Christmas after the splendid fight at Trenton, penned when he was yet throbbing with a soldier's joy! What a vision it would give us of the real man! If we could quote passages from his diary written just after Monmouth or Saratoga, how near we could get to him and to those battles! How easily we could cover this

cold skeleton of official facts with a warm, living body full of human interest, appealing irresistibly to our hearts rather than our judgments! He came home, after an absence of eight years with only one furlough. He had been a citizen here ten years, all of them almost wholly occupied in the public service.

In 1786 he was again called on to assist in suppressing the very serious Shays Rebellion, and received the formal thanks of the government. He lived five years more in Lenox, serving several times in town offices, showing always a strong interest in the town. His subscription for building the courthouse was eighty pounds, the largest made, and enormous for those days. In 1791 he removed to Broome County, N. Y., and there at once became a public servant. He was four years a member of the legislature; a delegate to the Constitutional Convention; a member of Congress one term; and presiding judge of the County Court from 1798 to his death. He died at Lisle, N. Y., in 1808, at the age of sixty-four years.

Does not this life strongly appeal to us for recognition of its able, faithful service? I can conceive how Dr. Egleston was at first content with a memorial tablet in yonder church; but as his search unfolded this man's career, the man grew steadily greater, until not only a natural pride of ancestry but the pride of patriotism demanded that here in Lenox should stand forever the monument unveiled to-day. If he could speak to us, we should know his deep gratification that loving hands had brought him tenderly back again to the scene of his noble service, and laid him beside his kindred and among his comrades, and that Berkshire had come here to pay him the honors justly due him. As New Jersey grouped him, on her battle monument, with Washington and La Fayette, so it is time that the town he honored in civil and military service should with solemn ceremony receive his ashes, study his record, and dedicate this monument to his fame. I congratulate my native town that this tribute, to an honest, able, and useful public servant, is to stand forever right in its very heart. My own experience teaches me what an inspiration

and education it will be to this people. Daily I pass the noble statue of the standard-bearer in Pittsfield, the most artistic representation of an American volunteer I have ever seen; together with its wonderful inscription, "For the living, a memory; for the dead, a tribute; for posterity, an emblem of loyalty to the flag of our country," it is a continual refreshment and joy. Many days you may pass by and not regard it, but some day, when your mind and heart are rightly tuned, this stone will strike a chord there which you will not willingly forget. Daniel Webster at the dedication of the monument at Bunker Hill said: "We can win no laurels in a war for independence; nor are there places for us among the founders of States—our fathers have filled them; there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation."

The country was in a sad condition at the close of the war. The pressure of a common danger had kept the colonies united; when that pressure ceased they began to quarrel. They had little common interest, little intercourse; the distances were immense, the roads dreadful; a journey from Boston to New York by the fast stage line consumed a week, and two coaches did all the business. The currency was worthless; every one was in debt; no one would take the debased paper. Congress, their only central government, had no power, and was without influence. For five years after the war their condition grew steadily worse. The historian John Fiske says that those five years were much more dangerous than any period of the war; that there was imminent danger of utter anarchy. Europe was certain that the result would be thirteen pitiful little States and ultimate union under a military chieftain. Some of our people hoped for this, as the best remedy for their distress. Many good men saw that union was necessary, but they had been educated to fear centralized government and to magnify their States; they hated the idea of a strong government. But their condition became so unbearable, their distress so great, that they finally appointed delegates to the immortal convention of 1787. Even then no one dared to say that its work was to create a

new form of government, such was the State jealousy and the fear of giving up any power. The people thought they would patch up the old confederacy. The convention sat four months in secret session in Independence Hall, and presented to their countrymen that wonderful Constitution which Mr. Gladstone pronounces the greatest work ever struck forth, in a given time, by the brain of man. It was a creation, not a mere selection from the experience of others. Creation on a large scale always partakes, in some degree, of the supernatural. There was no precedent. The problem was to construct a government whose form and practical working should be permeated by the Declaration of eleven years before, that all men are free and equal before the law. There was no model; the world had never seen one. There had been vague dreams of it, but they were regarded as baseless visions. That a continent could safely trust the common people to govern themselves was mere midsummer madness. The convention, especially delegated, as I believe, by a divine Providence, had two problems to solve, both of which seemed too difficult for human wisdom. First, to devise an entirely new form of government, which should easily and almost automatically put into practical action a new and untried theory; which should unite a divided people, and by its immediate results recommend itself to a very practical and impatient people. But suppose all this to be accomplished, how were the common people, poor, loaded with debt, oppressed with taxes, jealous of power, suspicious of all authority outside their own State—how were they to comprehend this profound and completely new charter? How was it possible for them to suddenly grasp its wonderful beneficence? How was it possible to persuade them to drop their local jealousies and intrust their future welfare to it? The world did not then perceive it, but the fact that those people, conditioned as they were, should have been able to even dimly understand and accept their new government was a final demonstration of the capacity of the people to govern themselves.

It is worth considering for a moment. You have been act-

ors in a national election. The struggle turned upon a single issue, perhaps the tariff or the currency. You know something of the perfection of the organization of parties; of its enormous cost; of the great ability of its orators and of the press; of the industry of the politicians for months and years—all this to instruct and persuade the people upon a single issue. Suppose the issue to be the whole form and theory of a government, with yourselves and your leaders ignorant of its practical working, and that you were living under like conditions; can you conceive of yourselves, confronted with such a problem under such circumstances, being able to triumphantly solve it? If so, you can fully measure them, not otherwise. The new government was inaugurated; you all know its history. This commonwealth is a fair illustration of its beneficent results. It greatly blessed the country. But there was a serpent in this Eden. The new charter presented a strange anomaly. Formed for freemen, saturated with the ideas of the Declaration, it contained a recognition of human slavery. The convention was almost unanimously opposed to this, but thought it absolutely essential that all the States should accept its work. To obtain unanimity they were obliged to insert a recognition of slavery; all then supposed it to be a temporary evil. The cotton crop and the cotton-gin made it a gigantic power. Its absolute necessities compelled it to seek controlling power in politics. It controlled them for fifty years. Its presence in our organic law was a fatal error. Long before the war Abraham Lincoln said, "I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." When he was elected slavery thought its existence required rebellion. The error of the fathers had matured its fruit. The war brought freedom to the slave and nearly equal benefit to all laborers. How could labor rise to its complete dignity and honor while laborers were bought and sold like cattle in the market? So long as slavery existed labor was degraded. It is true that since the war labor has lifted up its head with new power and self-respect. The results of the war made this land the earthly paradise of the workingmen. The young man com-

ing here from the lowest wretchedness of Europe has no limits to his possible achievements, except his capacity and strength; all honors, wealth, comfort, happiness, are possible according to his gifts. If he stays in Germany he must bury five of his best years in the army, and be liable to further service. If he remains in England only a miracle will lift him out of the life he was born into. His life in Russia is a dead level of utter hopelessness. Nowhere does the sun of hope shine in and cause him to grow to the full stature of manhood, except in this dear land, which we have at last made free. Here, unless sickness, bad habits, or laziness prevent, every man can at least provide for a comfortable, happy old age. Work is most honorable. That to such a country, rich with blessings earned by the blood of two wars, men should come from the slums of the Old World and preach the accursed doctrines of anarchy, should be allowed to advocate the abolition by force of property, law, government, surpasses belief. It is liberty run mad.

The work of the fathers had but one radical fault; that defect was well known to them, but they felt compelled to allow it to remain, hoping it would soon be removed. It became a menace to our peace. It was our privilege and duty to complete their work, and so the War of the Rebellion became the logical successor of the War of the Revolution. At last their fondest hope is realized, their work is complete, as they designed it; and thus (and this is the central thought I would express to-day) we are nearer to the fathers than all the generations that have preceded us. Other generations have used the liberty they inherited; we have made their design a reality. We are firmly settled upon the bed-rock principle which their wonderful sagacity first announced to the world, that all men are free and equal before the law; first organized into government by the fathers, but never an accomplished fact till emancipation was proclaimed by Abraham Lincoln. As the blood flowing from the heart to the extremities continually repairs the constantly wasting tissues, keeps the eyes bright, the senses alert, the brain clear, the whole body fit for service, so this great principle, permeating the

body politic, tests every statute, every executive act, every decree of the courts, acts upon our social intercourse, our business, our recreations. We do not perceive it any more than the air, but we rely upon it unconsciously as we do upon natural laws. It is part of our contracts, our ambitions, our hopes; it enlarges our self-respect. It is the ozone of our political atmosphere; our political health depends upon it. We do not fully appreciate it, yet no blessing like unto it has ever enveloped the hearts and homes of any people. Those who have it not yearn after it, as the hart panteth for the water brooks; it seems to them like a cool spring in a thirsty desert. Out of the depths of their poverty and misery they strain every nerve to enter into this happy land; to them the idea of equal rights freely bestowed seems more precious than the Mohammedan paradise to the devout Moslem. They are right; of all things in this world worth fighting for, dying for, this is supreme; for this the fathers and their worthy heirs fought; for this John Paterson of Lenox fought and William Dwight Sedgwick of Lenox died. Until those discovered it and these completed it, the world never saw a pure liberty freely bestowed upon a great nation. The world sees it now and appreciates it. We wonder to see the multitude pouring into our gates; the secret lies in the liberty which is here a living reality. The prolific mother of many blessings, it makes free public education necessary. When a man feels he is really free he begins to think knowledge is necessary to the dignity of his position; the more knowledge he gets the more he prizes liberty. Before he was President, Lincoln said of the Declaration of the fathers: "This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe; this their wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures." On his memorable journey to Washington in 1861 he said in Independence Hall: "I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence." We have no time for the full argument; it seems clear to me that the establishment of this doctrine as a vital truth in the hearts of this

people is ample compensation for the dreadful cost of both wars. Let us try to get a just estimate of this rich and costly blessing. The fathers gave it to the world; my comrades cut out the cancer of slavery and gave free course to the life-blood of freedom through all the veins and arteries of the body politic, untainted and pure; building up the waste places; bringing hope and sweet content to the hopeless; compacting a divided people into a proud, happy nation, which can now with perfect truth and honest pride look up to the stars and stripes, and say, "There floats the beautiful symbol of a true, pure liberty."

Will all this continue? It certainly will until God provides a safer foundation for a State. In every earnest conflict between good and evil the good will surely triumph in the end. Even in this crime-laden, wicked age many more good deeds are daily done than bad ones. Every petty larceny is published, but a hundred little gifts are made daily in the same community, a hundred hands are clasped in silent sympathy, a hundred helpful words are spoken, which are never chronicled. In every political issue which is also a moral issue the right has always triumphed where there is free debate. Witness the slavery issue, the fight with Tweed in New York. We have had an object-lesson this winter which seems to me conclusive. I refer to the lottery contest in Louisiana. Just after the Civil War a party of New York gamblers got a charter in that State giving them a monopoly of the lottery business for twenty-five years; in 1879 they got their charter into the State constitution; it expires January 1, 1895. Of course it now desires a new charter, and this winter proceeded to force its way through the legislature. It needed just twenty-four votes in the Senate—it got just twenty-four, no more, no less; it needed just sixty-six votes in the House—it got just sixty-six votes, no more, no less. The governor vetoed the resolve. It needed just three judges of the Supreme Court to deny his right to veto—it got just three judges. The question then went to the people. It needed just thirty-nine members of a committee on creden-

tials to control a convention—it got just thirty-nine, no more, or less. Its money power is enormous; the market value of its stock exceeds the entire banking capital of the State. Its stock pays dividends of from seventy to one hundred and sixty per cent., and part of it is held by leaders in both parties. It offered a bribe of \$1,250,000 a year for twenty-five years to this poor State. It controlled every daily paper in New Orleans, and could paralyze any bank or business house that opposed it. More than half of the voters of the State are ignorant negroes. No one had any special personal interest to oppose it. It required sublime moral and physical courage to oppose it. It was a much more dangerous foe than the Italian Mafia. The odds in its favor seemed a thousand to one; those who entered this fight must be actuated by a high, pure, moral purpose, an unselfish patriotism. The men came forward—they always do when a forlorn hope is called for. They established a new daily paper, which was conducted with great power. They began to hold small meetings. Soon the tide began to rise. After a while all the white clergy, and then a majority of the black clergy, joined them; then the women *en masse* took up this cause. They had very little money, and called upon patriots of the North for help, and got it, and deserved it, for nine tenths of the revenues of the corporation (over \$20,000,000 each year) came from the North. Of this, their New England agency sent more than any other. And they got sympathy from all Christian denominations; they got a manly Christian protest from Cardinal Gibbons, the head of the Roman Church in this country, which was a deadly blow to the lottery. They had to overcome political prejudice and divide both of the parties; they had to erase the color line and overcome the intensely bitter race feeling, more bitter than in any other State. Can you conceive of a moral battle under more adverse circumstances? And yet they had a complete victory. Warm praise and admiration are especially due to General George D. Johnston, Governor Nichols, and the editor of the *New Delta*—I can't recall his name. Here was a clear moral

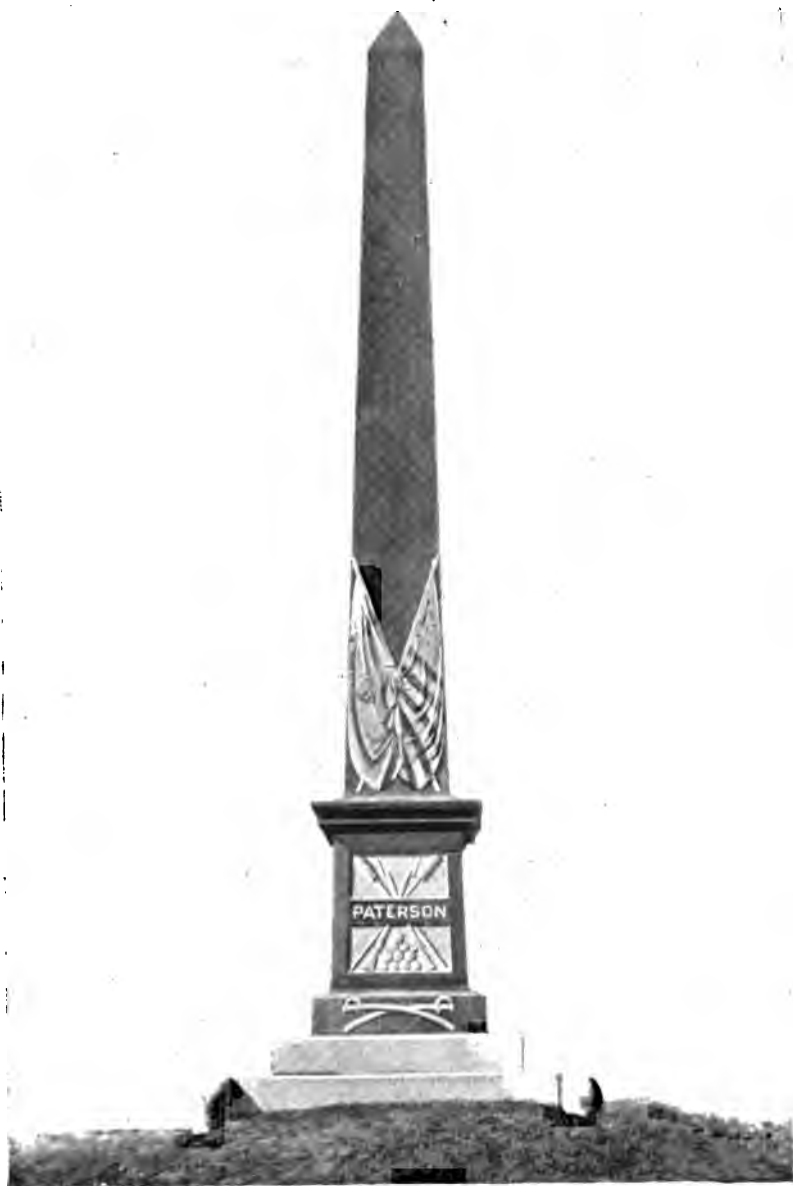
issue, discussed on the stump before a comparatively ignorant people, resulting in a triumph for the right against an immense money power, very ably led, controlling the machinery of both parties, all the daily press, and most of the business influence. To me it has been a very impressive and reassuring contest. It could have only taken place where was real freedom.

I believe this will continue, because in a peculiar sense it is a providential country. When the colonists had decided that they must fight, their supreme need was a man so superior to other men that an almost insanely jealous people should never question his wisdom or his motives. If they had searched the earth they could have found no man who could fill the place of George Washington. Yet he had been quietly growing up here, almost unknown beyond his State. Then a veritable creation of a completely new form of government which had but one serious error, known, but supposed to be short lived, but which soon menaced and finally resolved to destroy the whole. Then rebellion, civil war. Again the supreme need was a man like unto the other, but adapted to his age. The man was ready; he came right out of the heart of the common people—an American of the purest type; none other would answer. Of all the great men who were prominent during the war, some were abler in one direction, some in other directions, but no one combined all the necessary qualities but Abraham Lincoln. He alone was utterly unselfish; he gave himself to his country wholly; he brooded over her as a mother broods over her babes. A thoughtful reading of his life will disclose a gradual leading up, from boyhood to that fatal night in the Washington theater, by a power higher than man. Most of us had the idea, at first, of saving the Union and slavery with it; but such was the ebb and flow of victory and defeat for many weary months, the progress of events was so overruled that at last the people were brought to know that slavery must die. What would our victory have been worth if slavery had survived? It would not have been worth one tenth of the blood that was

shed. Memorial Day would have little inspiration. The chief distinction of this generation, viz., the completion of the work of the fathers, would have passed on to some future generation.

Imperial America, "enthroned between her subject seas," midway between mysterious, mystical Asia and conservative Europe, containing everything necessary for countless millions, was silently waiting for the fixed time when her fallow soil should receive the seed of liberty. It has taken one hundred years to fully perfect its fruit; the people who have fed upon it will never consent to live without it. We do well to honor one who helped to plant it. In doing this we also honor those who helped to perfect it. And here it seems not unfitting this occasion to suggest to Lenox people my hope that in the near future they will place on the brow of yonder hill a statue of Major William Dwight Sedgwick. He was born and reared here; it was his home till manhood; when the war began he left Missouri and came to Lenox, because he said he wished to fight among Massachusetts men. He was a very able and enthusiastic soldier; was promoted from the line of the famous 2d Massachusetts to the staff of noble John Sedgwick, commander of the famous 6th Corps; he fell at Antietam in September, 1862. He was a great, stalwart, noble man, a loyal lover of Lenox. I drove him to Pittsfield on his way to his regiment; the next time I saw him was in his coffin, in his mother's house yonder. We came from a Pittsfield camp, and bore him to Stockbridge for burial on a lovely autumn afternoon. As we parted from him at the grave the sun was just sinking behind the western hills, the full harvest moon rising in the east—beautiful symbol of a glorious death, strong assurance of a glorious resurrection. The two memorials would complete your goodly record. They would tell the story I have tried to tell more powerfully than any tongue or pen, and repeat it to your boys and girls for many generations.

History makes comrades all who fought for liberty. As a comrade of the Grand Army I am here to pay honor to a



THE PATERSON-EGLESTON MONUMENT, LENOX, MASS.

comrade. As a Companion of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, a lineal descendant of the order of the Cincinnati founded by Washington and his officers, I come here to do honor to an original member of that order. As a native of Lenox I feel it to be a rare privilege to take any part in dedicating this fine memorial of one of the most distinguished in her long roll of able, eminent citizens.

" Be proud ! for she is saved, and all have helped to save her—
 She that lifts up the manhood of the poor,
 She of the open soul and open door,
 With room about her hearth for all mankind.
 The fire is dreadful in her eyes, no more—
 From her bold front the helm she doth unbind,
 Sends all her handmaid armies back to spin,
 And bids her navies hold their thunders in ;
 No challenge sends she to the elder world
 That looked askance and hated ; a light scorn
 Plays o'er her mouth, as round her mighty knees
 She calls her children back, and waits the morn
 Of nobler day, enthroned between her subject seas."

After the address the "Regulars" gave an exhibition drill, and were followed by the Pittsfield cadets, who showed great skill and discipline and called out great applause by their very rapid and well-executed maneuvers. The Lee cadets gave a drill in the evening. They made a fine showing and elicited a great deal of applause.

In the evening Colonel Auchmuty gave a dinner at the Curtis Hotel to the U. S. Regulars, Company M. of Adams, the F. M. T. A. cadets, and the guests of the occasion. After-dinner speeches were made by E. S. Barrett of Concord, Captain Wetherell, U. S. N., Joseph Ward Lewis of the *Journal* of Pittsfield, Selectman McDonald of Lenox, Captain Marshall, and Mr. Fitzgerald of the Pittsfield cadets. Late in the evening the company dispersed.

The monument is shown in the engraving opposite to this page. The foundation is laid in cement, and is 8 feet deep and 11 feet square. This base is protected on the corners by four stones cut out so as to surround the angles at the corners, 6 inches on each side. The bottom base is 9 feet square and 14 inches in height, and weighs 16,500 pounds. The second base is 6 feet 8 inches square and 1 foot high, and weighs 7700 pounds. The third base is 4 feet 8½ inches square and is 15 inches high, and weighs 4500 pounds. The die is 3 feet 9 inches square at the base and 3 feet 7 inches square at the top and 4 feet 2 inches high, and weighs 9800 pounds. The cap is 4 feet 8 inches square, 14 inches high, and weighs 4100 pounds. The shaft is 3 feet square at the base, 1 foot 10 inches square at the top, and is 21 feet 9 inches high,

and weighs 9500 pounds. The total height of the monument is 30 feet 6 inches, and the total weight is 52,100 pounds. The monument is in polished granite from Quincy, Mass. It is placed so that the name of Paterson faces north. The shaft is ornamented on the north and south sides with the flag of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, crossed with the United States flag, the stars and alternate stripes of which are in polished granite. The die is ornamented on the north side with the name of Paterson, with two flint-lock muskets and two cannon swabs crossed behind it, with a pile of ten cannon-balls and two stars, the insignia of his rank as Major-General. On the upper base are two swords crossed, and on the lower one are the words, "Erected in 1892 by Thomas Eggleston." The inscription which is given below is on the east side.

IN MEMORY OF
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN PATERSON,
 SON OF COLONEL JOHN PATERSON.
 BORN 1744, DIED 1808.

AND ELIZABETH LEE HIS WIFE.
 BORN 1749, DIED 1841.

He was born in New Britain, Conn. Graduated at Yale College in 1762. He entered the law in his native town. He was married June 2nd 1766. In 1774 he moved to Lenox and was chosen a member of the Berkshire Convention July 1774. Represented this town in the General Court, which became the first Provincial Congress in 1774, and also in the second Provincial Congress in 1775. Was made Colonel of a regiment he raised in 1775 and was one of the first in the field with it after the battle of Lexington and defended Boston from an attack in the rear during the battle. Was complimented by Washington in general orders, Nov. 10, 1775. In April 1776 was ordered to Staten Island and from there to Canada. Was in the battle of the Cedars. Crossed the Delaware with Washington Dec. 26, 1776, and was in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Was made Brigadier General Feb. 21, 1777. Assisted in the capture of Burgoyne October 1777 and was in the battle and council of Monmouth in 1778. In 1780 he commanded West Point and was on the trial of Major Andre. He was in most of the decisive battles of the Revolution and served during the whole war. He was one of the founders of the society of the Cincinnati in May 1783 and on September 30, 1783, he was made Major General. After the war he returned to Lenox and was a most public spirited citizen. In 1786 he commanded the Massachusetts troops in putting down Shays' rebellion. In 1790 he moved to Lisle, New York, where he died. He was four years a member of the N. Y. General Assembly. In 1801 was a member of the committee to revise the constitution of New York State. Was appointed Chief Justice of Broome Co., N. Y. He served in the U. S. Congress in 1803 to 1805. He died July 9, 1808, in the full vigor of manhood, in the pursuit of duty, in the service of the country he had so ably defended. He was a soldier, a patriot and a statesman. His remains lie in the churchyard. In gratitude for his public services and in recognition of his private virtues this monument is erected.

On the south side is the same ornamentation for the shaft, with the name "Egleston," and with the same ornamentation on the die, except the stars; and on the west side is the inscription which is given below, relating to the Revolutionary services of Azariah Egleston, who was General Paterson's son-in-law, and, like him, served during the whole of the Revolutionary War.

IN MEMORY OF
MAJOR AZARIAH EGLESTON.

BORN 1757, DIED 1822.

AND HANNAH PATERSON HIS WIFE.

BORN 1759, DIED 1803.

On April 22, 1775, in anticipation of the breaking out of the Revolution, he enlisted as a private in the regiment of Col. John Paterson and was active in inducing others to enlist. He marched with the regiment immediately after the battle of Lexington and went with it to Canada, when he enlisted for the whole war. He was in the battle of the Cedars. Crossed the Delaware with Washington Dec. 25, 1776, and was in the battles of Princeton and Trenton. In 1777 he served against Burgoyne and was in both the battles of Bemis Heights, and was at Saratoga when Burgoyne surrendered. He was promoted to the rank of Ensign May 18, 1778, by John Hancock. He was with Washington at Valley Forge, where he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. In 1778 he was in the battle of Monmouth and the siege of Newport. On March 7, 1779, was promoted to the rank of Major and served on the staff of Gen. Ashley and Gen. Paterson. He was at the evacuation of New York Dec. 1783. In 1784 he returned to Lenox. In 1786 he served in Shays' rebellion. He was Deputy Quartermaster General under Gen. Paterson in 1787 and afterwards under Gen. Ashley. He was a friend of Washington, Kosciusko and Lafayette and was one of the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati. After the war he made Lenox a prominent centre of education. He was as public spirited after the war as he had been patriotic during it and was noted for his hospitality. His house was the headquarters for army officers and men of literature and learning. He was always identified with every movement for the good of the town or the state. In 1787 he was appointed Justice of the Peace and resigned in 1803. In 1796, 1797, 1798 and 1799 he was chosen Representative in Boston. In 1807, 1808 and 1809 he was elected State Senator. In 1808 he was appointed Associate Justice of the Court of Sessions. Duty, whether to the country on the field of battle, to the State in the legislature, to the town in public services or the family in his home, was never forgotten. His life was full of patriotic actions for the country and generous deeds to his neighbors. His remains lie in the churchyard. In memory of his public services and his private virtues this monument is erected.

The monument stands directly in view of the town hall which General Paterson was so active in building, and opposite to the house in which he lived, on the line of the roads which Major Egleston laid out. It forms

a very beautiful and graceful object at the head of Court-house Hill, and serves to keep alive the Revolutionary memories in which Lenox took so prominent a part. The Egleston house at this date is the only Revolutionary memento that is left in the town.

At the annual town meeting held in Lenox on April 3, 1893, the following resolution was proposed :

"Voted to accept the monument to General John Paterson erected in this town by Mr. Egleston, and to tender a vote of thanks to Mr. Egleston for the same.

"[A true copy.]

"I. J. NEWTON, *Town Clerk.*"

I

LIST OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS FROM WHICH INFORMATION HAS BEEN OBTAINED.

In Albany :

The Records of the State of New York.

In New York City :

Orderly-book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga.
 Turnbull's History of Cuba.
 Hayard's Cuba with Pen and Pencil.
 Justamonde's History of the Indies.
 Parker's History of Londonderry, N. H.
 Riddel's Memorials of the Revolution.
 Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut.
 History of Ancient Windsor.
 Hayen's History of Billerica.
 Temple's History of Northfield.
 Barber's History of Connecticut.
 Bugbee's Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.
 Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.
 Hamilton's History of the American Republic.
 Gordon's History of the Revolution.
 Saffield's Records of the Revolutionary War.
 Dawson's Battles of the United States by Sea and Land.
 Carrington's Battles of the American Revolution.
 Surgeon James Thatcher's Journal.

- Force's American Archives.
 Munsell's Historical Series.
 New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
 Harper's Cyclopædia of United States History.
 Drake's Dictionary of American Biography.
 Journals of Congress.
 Werner's Civil List of Constitutional History of New York.
 Boynton's History of West Point Military Academy.
 Ruttenber's Defenses of the Hudson.
 Manuscript Map of the Camp, 1782-83.
 Sparks' Life of Washington.
 Sparks' Writings of Washington.
 Whiting's Revolutionary Orders of General Washington (compiled from the Manuscripts of Lieutenant Whiting).
 Gardner's Dictionary of Officers of the American Army.
 Hamersley's Official Register of Army and Navy Officers of the United States.
 Hamersley's Army Register of the United States, 1779 to 1879.
 Lieutenant Fogg's Orderly-book in General Poor's Regiment.
 Washington's Letters.
 Kapp's Life of Baron Steuben.
 General Heath's Memoirs (by himself).
 Sargent's Life of Major André.
 Drake's Burgoyne's Invasion.
 Stone's Campaigns of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne.
 Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts.
 Minot's Select Tracts of Insurrections in Massachusetts.
 Journals of the Provincial Congresses of Massachusetts in 1774-75.
 Journal of Committee of Safety of Provincial Congress.
 Johnston's Connecticut in the Revolution.
 Johnston's Yale in the Revolution.
 Bugbee's History of the Cincinnati.
 Schuyler's Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati.
 Camp's History of New Britain.
 History of Berkshire Co., Mass.
 Address on the Life of John Paterson, by W. H. Lee.
 History of Hartford Co. (2 vols. 4to).
 Fisk's History of the American Revolution (2 vols.).
 Minot's History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts.
 Barry's History of Massachusetts.
 The French War and the Revolution. Sloane.
 Three Episodes in Massachusetts History. Adams.
 Storer's Records of Freemasonry.
 Wilkinson's Annals of Binghampton, New York.

In Boston :

Frothingham's Seige of Boston.
 Records of Provincial Congresses.
 Massachusetts Court Records.
 Historical Manuscripts in State House, Boston.
 Massachusetts Manuscript Archives in the State House.
 General Wilkinson's Memoirs.
 Drake's Massachusetts Cincinnati.

In Cambridge :

Miscellaneous Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library.

In Hartford :

Connecticut Colonial Records.
 The Connecticut War Archives.
 Hartford Probate Records.
 Wethersfield Town Records.
 Wethersfield Church Records.
 Newington Records.
 Camps' History of New Britain.

In Worcester :

Worcester Magazine.
 Massachusetts Spy (Antiquarian Society, Worcester).
 Garrison's Orders (Antiquarian Society, Worcester).
 General Schuyler's Orderly-book.
 Captain Cushing's Orderly-book.
 Washington's Diary.

More than 250 volumes were consulted, but these are the only ones in which anything was found. Most of the information had been copied from one to the other.

J

THE PATERSON GENEALOGY.

The Paterson family, as has been mentioned, is of Scotch descent. There are at the present time, according to Burke's Peerage, seven families in Scotland whose armorial bearings show that they are related to one another. Five of those families spell the name with one t, one spells it with either one or two, while only one spells it with two. There is no

record that any ancestor or member of General Paterson's family ever spelled the name with more than one *t*. It is so spelled by his grandfather, father, and himself. In the records of the county of Hartford, Conn., and in some of the printed documents and notices, the name is sometimes spelled with two *f*'s; but it must be remembered that these cannot be taken as authority. They are the spelling of clerks who were sometimes so careless that the name is spelled both ways in the same document.* In former centuries but little attention was paid to the spelling of names, it being considered as of very little importance. Instances have been known where from sheer carelessness the names of families have become so altered in the spelling as to have become in less than three centuries scarcely recognizable. This carelessness in spelling has made the searches in documents very difficult, and in one or two instances a search lasting many months, carried on in the libraries of three different cities, has finally proven that the person referred to in the document was not General John Paterson, but a member of an entirely different family. Several times persons wishing to aid me have sent me references to a British officer of the same name. There was a British Colonel Paterson serving in and about New York and Boston while John Paterson was a colonel, and this same officer was made a general, and served in and about New York while General John Paterson was on duty in the Highlands. But these are only a few of the difficulties that have arisen. Frequently the wrong spelling of the name has made it so difficult to distinguish the person that without strong corroborative evidence the incident would have had to be thrown out. Once a fact that had been accepted and published as true had to be discarded, as the official records showed that General Paterson at the time was in a different State.

General Paterson's descendants are now scattered all over this country. It has not been easy to find the addresses of all of them, but in order to get the requisite information persons living from Vermont to the southern part of California have been corresponded with. Nothing like a complete record has ever before been made. A manuscript containing an imperfect record was prepared by the late Dr. Charles Seymour; after his death it passed into the hands of the late Dr. William Patterson, and is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford, Conn.; but it is very incomplete, and lacks entirely the record of two or three of General Paterson's children. This record is more complete than any that has been made up to this time. That it is not entirely complete is owing to the impossibility of getting the information,

* In July, 1892, I had occasion to show on pages 8 and 9 of volume xxiii. of the Record of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, in an article on Major Azariah Egleston, that the name "Bagot" was spelled nineteen different ways, and sometimes three ways in the same document.

although more than two years have been spent in collecting it. In compiling this genealogical tree two conflicting dates have frequently been sent to me, in which case the date given by the greatest number of persons, or that which seems to have the best authority, has been accepted. Some of the descendants have been at great pains to furnish the records of their branches. I am especially indebted to Mrs. R. Bates, of Parma Center, N. Y.; Mrs. Harriet Shelton, of Topeka, Kan.; Mrs. F. Bemis, of Davenport, Ia.; Mrs. F. G. Dean, of Newark Valley, N. Y.; Mr. H. Wistar Rugg, of Olean, N. Y.; Dr. M. L. Baxter, of Derby Line, Vt.; Mrs. F. V. Woodbury, of Pasadena, Cal.; and Miss M. P. Kilborn, of Spencerport, N. Y.

K

THE RESOLUTIONS ON COINAGE OF JULY 6, 1785.

Wednesday, July 6, 1785.

Congress took into consideration the report of a grand committee, consisting of Mr. Howell, Mr. Foster, Mr. King, Mr. Cook, Mr. Smith, Mr. Beatty, Mr. Gardner, Mr. Vining, Mr. Hindman, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Houston, on the subject of a money unit;

And on the question, that the money unit of the United States of America be one dollar, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Howell, every member answering aye, it was

Resolved, That the money unit of the United States of America be one dollar.

Resolved, That the smallest coin be of copper, of which 200 shall pass for one dollar.

Resolved, That the several pieces shall increase in a decimal ratio.

THE RESOLUTIONS ON COINAGE OF AUGUST 8, 1786.

Tuesday, August 8, 1786.

On a report of the Board of Treasury.

Resolved, That the Standard of the United States of America for gold and silver shall be eleven parts fine and one part alloy.

That the money unit of the United States, being by the resolve of Congress of the 6th of July, 1785, a dollar, shall contain of fine silver 375 $\frac{64}{100}$ grains.

That the money of account, to correspond with the division of coins agreeably to the above resolve, proceed in a decimal ratio agreeably to the forms and manner following, viz:

Mills: the lowest money of account, of which one thousand shall be equal to the federal dollar, or money unit.....0.001

- Cents : the highest copper piece, of which one hundred shall be equal to the dollar.....0.010
- Dimes : the lowest silver coin, ten of which shall be equal to the dollar.....0.100
- Dollars : the highest silver coin.....1.000
- That betwixt the dollar and the lowest copper coin, as fixed by the resolve of Congress of the 6th of July, 1785, there shall be three silver coins and one copper coin. That the silver coins shall be as follows :
- One coin, containing $187 \frac{82}{100}$ grains of fine silver, to be called half a dollar.
- One coin, containing $75 \frac{128}{1000}$ grains of fine silver, to be called a double dime.
- And one coin containing $37 \frac{560}{1000}$ grains of fine silver, to be called a dime.
- That the two copper coins shall be as follows :
- One equal to the 100th part of the federal dollar, to be called a cent.
- One equal to the 200th part of the federal dollar, to be called a half cent.
- That two pounds and a quarter avoirdupois weight of copper shall constitute 100 cents.
- That there shall be two gold coins : One containing $246 \frac{268}{1000}$ grains of fine gold, equal to ten dollars, and to be stamped with the impression of the American eagle, and to be called an eagle.
- One containing $128 \frac{134}{1000}$ grains of fine gold, equal to 5 dollars to be stamped in like manner, and to be called an half eagle.
- That the mint price of a pound troy weight of uncoined silver, 11 parts fine and one part alloy, shall be 9 dollars, 9 dimes and 2 cents.*
- That the Mint price of a pound troy weight of uncoined gold, 11 parts fine and one part alloy, shall be 209 dollars, 7 dimes, and 7 cents.
- Ordered that the Board of Treasury report a draft of an ordinance for the establishment of a mint.

* This is a manifest error. The mint price of silver in dollars of 521.73 grains, provided for in the third report of the Board of Treasury, was \$9.92, and these figures have crept into the resolution, as they did also into one portion of the first report of the Board.

L

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL PUTNAM AND GENERAL WASHINGTON ON THE SUBJECT OF THE OHIO LANDS. ALSO LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

“ NEW WINDSOR, 16th June, 1783.

“ SIR :—As it is very uncertain how long it may be before the honorable Congress may take the petition of the officers of the army for lands between the Ohio River and Lake Erie into consideration, or be in a situation to decide thereon, the going to Philadelphia to negotiate the business with any of its members, or committee to whom the petition may be referred, is a measure none of the petitioners will think of undertaking. The part which I have taken in promoting the petition is well known, and therefore needs no apology, when I inform you that the signers expect that I will pursue measures to have it laid before Congress. Under these circumstances, I beg leave to put the petition into your Excellency's hands, and ask, with the greatest assurance, your patronage of it. That Congress may not be wholly unacquainted with the motives of the petitioners, I beg your indulgence while I make a few observations on the policy and propriety of granting the prayer of it, and making such arrangements of garrisons in the western quarter as shall give effectual protection to the settlers and encourage emigration to the new government, which, if they meet your approbation, and the favor be not too great, I must request your Excellency will give them your support, and cause them to be forwarded with the petition to the President of Congress, in order that when the petition is taken up, Congress, or their committee, may be informed on what principles the petition is grounded. I am, sir, among those who consider the cession of so great a tract of territory to the United States in the western world as a very happy circumstance and of great consequence to the American Empire. Nor have I the least doubt but Congress will pay an early attention to securing the allegiance of the natives, as well as provide for the defense of that country, in case of a war with Great Britain or Spain.

“ One great means of securing the allegiance of the natives, I take to be, the furnishing them such necessaries as they shall stand in need of, and in exchange receiving their furs and skins. They are becoming so accustomed to the use of firearms, that I doubt if they could gain a subsistence without them ; at least they will be very sorry to be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of using the bow and arrow as the only means for killing their game : and so habituated are they to the woolen blanket, etc., that an absolute necessity alone will prevent their making use of them. This consideration alone is, I think, sufficient to

prove the necessity of establishing such factories as may furnish an ample supply to these wretched creatures ; for unless they are furnished by the subjects of the United States, they will undoubtedly seek elsewhere, and like all other people form their attachment where they have their commerce, and then in case of a war, will always be certain to aid our enemies.

" Therefore, if there were no advantages in view but that of attaching them to our interest, I think good policy will dictate the measure of carrying on a commerce with these people ; but when we add to this the consideration of the profit arising from the Indian trade in general, there can not, I presume, be a doubt that it is the interest of the United States to make as early provision for the encouragement and protection of it as possible. For these and many other obvious reasons, Congress will, no doubt, find it necessary to establish garrisons at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, Illinois, and many other places in the western world.

" The Illinois and all the posts that shall be established on the Mississippi may undoubtedly be furnished by way of the Ohio with provisions at all times, and with goods whenever a war shall interrupt the trade with New Orleans. But in case of a war with Great Britain, unless a communication is open between the River Ohio and Lake Erie, Niagara, Detroit, and all posts seated on the great Lakes will inevitably be lost without such communication, for a naval superiority on Lake Ontario, or the seizing of Niagara, will subject the whole country bordering on the lakes to the will of the enemy. Such a misfortune will put it out of the power of the United States to furnish the natives, and necessity will again oblige them to take an active part against us.

" Where and how this communication is to be opened shall next be considered. If Captain Hutchins and a number of other map makers are not out in their calculations, provisions may be sent from the settlements on the south side of the Ohio by the Muskingum or Scioto to Detroit, or even to Niagara at a less expense than from Albany by the Mohawk, to those places. To secure such communication (by the Scioto, all circumstances considered, will be the best), let a chain of posts be established. These forts should be built on the bank of the river, if the ground will admit, and about twenty miles distant from each other, and on this plan the Scioto communication will require ten or eleven stockaded forts, flanked by block-houses, and one company of men will be a sufficient garrison for each, except the one at the portage, which will require more attention in the construction and a larger number of men to garrison it ; but, besides supplying the garrisons of the great lakes with provisions, etc., we ought to take into consideration the protection that such an arrangement will give to the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York. I say New

York, as we shall undoubtedly extend our settlements and garrisons from the Hudson to Oswego. This done, and a garrison posted at Niagara, whoever will inspect the maps must be convinced that all the Indians living on the waters of the Mohawk, Oswego, Susquehanna and Alleghany Rivers, and in all the country south of the Lakes Ontario and Erie, will be encircled in such a manner as will effectually secure their allegiance and keep them quiet, or oblige them to quit their country.

“Nor will such an arrangement of posts from the Ohio to Lake Erie be any additional expense, for unless this gap is shut, notwithstanding the garrisons on the lakes and from Oswego to the Hudson, yet the frontier settlers on the Ohio by Fort Pitt to the Susquehanna, and all the country south of the Mohawk, will be exposed to savage insult, unless protected by a chain of garrisons, which will be far more expensive than the arrangement proposed, and at the same time the protection given to these states will be much less complete; besides, we should not confine our protection to the present settlements, but carry the idea of extending them at least as far as the Lakes Ontario and Erie.

“These Lakes form such a natural barrier that, when connected with the Hudson and Ohio by the garrisons proposed, settlements in every part of the states of New York and Pennsylvania may be made with the utmost safety, so that these states must be deeply interested in the measure, as well as Virginia, who will, by the same arrangement, have a great part of its frontiers secured and the rest much strengthened; nor is there a state in the Union but will be greatly benefited by the measure considered in another point of view, for, without any expense except a small allowance of purchase money to the natives, the United States will have within their protection 17,500,000 acres of very fine lands to dispose of as they may think proper.

“But I hasten to mention some of the expectations which the petitioners have respecting the conditions on which they hope to obtain the lands—this was not proper to mention in the body of the petition, especially as we pray for grants to all members of the army who wish to take up lands in that quarter.

“The whole tract is supposed to contain about 17,418,240 acres, and will admit of 756 townships of six miles square, allowing to each township 3,040 acres for the ministry, schools, waste lands, rivers, ponds and highways; then each township will contain, of settlers' lands, 20,000 acres, and in the whole, 15,120,000 acres. The land to which the army is entitled by the resolves of Congress referred to in the petition, according to my estimate, will amount to 2,106,850 acres, which is about the eighth part of the whole; for the survey of this they expect to be at no expense, nor do they expect to be under any obligation to settle these lands, or do any duty to secure their title to them; but, in order to induce the army to become settlers in the new government,

the petitioners hope Congress will make a further grant of lands, on condition of settlement, and have no doubt but that honorable body will be as liberal to all those who are not provided for by their own states as New York has been to the officers and soldiers who belong to that state, which, if they do, it will require about 8,000,000 of acres to complete the army, and about 7,000,000 acres will remain for sale. That the petitioners, at least some of them, are much opposed to the monopoly of lands, and wish to guard against large patents being granted to individuals, as in their opinion such a mode is very injurious to a country, and greatly retards its settlement, and whenever such patents are tenanted, it throws too much power into the hands of a few. For these, and many other obvious reasons, the petitioners hope no grants will be made but by townships of six miles square, or six by twelve, or six by eighteen miles, to be subdivided by the proprietors to six miles square, that being the standard on which they wish all calculations may be made, and that officers and soldiers, as well as those who petition for charters on purchase, may form their associations on one uniform principle, as to number of persons or rights to be contained in a township, with the exception only that, when the grant is made for reward of service already done, or on condition of settlement, if the officers petition with the soldiers for a particular township, the soldiers shall have one right only to a captain's three, and so in proportion with commissioned officers of every grade.

"These, sir, are the principles which gave rise to the petition under consideration; the petitioners, at least some of them, conceive that sound policy dictates the measure, and that Congress ought to lose no time in establishing some such chain of posts as has been hinted at, and in procuring the tract of country petitioned for of the natives, for the moment this is done, and agreeable terms offered to the settlers, many of the petitioners are determined, not only to become adventurers, but actually to remove themselves to this country; and there is not the least doubt but other valuable citizens will follow their example, and the probability is that the country between Lake Erie and Ohio will be filled with inhabitants, and the faithful subjects of these United States so established on the waters of the Ohio and the lakes as to banish forever the idea of our western territory falling under the dominion of any European power, the frontier of the old states will be effectually secured from savage alarms, and the new will have little to fear from their insults.

"I have the honor to be, sir, with every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed)

"RUFUS PUTNAM.

"Gen. WASHINGTON." *

* "Life of Manasseh Cutler," vol. i., p. 187.

On June 17th, 1783, General Washington wrote to the President of Congress:

“HEADQUARTERS, Newburgh, June 17, 1783.

“SIR:—I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency, for the consideration of Congress, a petition from a large number of officers of the army, in behalf of themselves and such other officers and soldiers of the continental army as are entitled to rewards in lands, and may choose to avail themselves of any privileges and grants which may be obtained in consequence of the present solicitation. I enclose also the copy of a letter from Brig.-General Putnam, in which the sentiments and expectations of the petitioners are more fully explained, and in which the ideas of occupying the posts in the western country will be found to correspond very nearly with those I have some time since communicated to a committee of Congress, in treating of the subject of a peace establishment. I will beg leave to make a few more observations on the general benefits of the location and settlement now proposed, and then submit the justice and policy of the measure to the wisdom of Congress.

“Although I pretend not myself to determine how far the district of unsettled country, which is described in the petition, is free from the claim of every state, or how far this disposal of it may interfere with the views of Congress, yet it appears to me this is the tract which, from local position and peculiar advantages, ought to be first settled in preference to any other whatever; and I am perfectly convinced that it can not be so advantageously settled by any other class of men, as by disbanded officers and soldiers of the army, to whom the faith of government hath long since been pledged. The lands should be granted at the expiration of the war in certain proportions, agreeably to their respective grades.

“I am induced to give my sentiments thus freely on the advantages to be expected from this plan of colonization, because it would connect our governments with the frontiers, extend our settlements progressively, and plant a brave, a hardy, and respectable race of people as our advanced post, who would be always ready and willing (in case of hostility) to combat the savages and check their incursions. A settlement formed by such men would give security to our frontiers; the very name of it would awe the Indians, and more than probably prevent the murder of many innocent families, which frequently, in the usual mode of extending our settlements and encroachments on the hunting-grounds of the natives, fall the hapless victims to savage barbarity. Besides the emoluments which might be derived from the peltry trade at our factories, if such should be established, the appearance of so formidable a settlement in the vicinity of their towns (to say nothing of the barrier it would form against our other neighbors) would

be the most likely means to enable us to purchase, upon equitable terms, of the aborigines, their right of pre-occupancy, and to induce them to relinquish our territories, and to remove into the illimitable regions of the west.

"Much more might be said of the public utility of such a location, as well as of the private felicity it would afford to the individuals concerned in it. I will venture to say it is the most rational and practicable scheme which can be adopted by a great proportion of the officers and soldiers of our army, and promises them more happiness than they can expect in any other way. The settlers being in the prime of life, inured to hardship, and taught by experience to accommodate themselves in every situation, going in a considerable body, and under the patronage of government, would enjoy in the first instance advantages in procuring subsistence, and all the necessaries for a comfortable beginning, superior to any common class of emigrants, and quite unknown to those who have heretofore extended themselves beyond the Appalachian Mountains. They may expect, after a little perseverance, competence and independence for themselves, a pleasant retreat in old age, and the fairest prospects for their children.

"I have the honor to be, with great consideration,

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(Signed)

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS." *

On April 5th, 1784, General Putnam wrote to General Washington:

"RUTLAND, April 5, 1784.

"DEAR SIR:—Being unavoidably prevented from attending the general meeting of the Cincinnati at Philadelphia, as I had intended, where I once more expected the opportunity in person of paying my respects to your Excellency, I can not deny myself the honor of addressing you by letter, to acknowledge with gratitude the ten thousand obligations I feel myself under to your goodness, and most sincerely to congratulate you on your return to domestic happiness; to inquire after your health, and wish the best of Heaven's blessings may attend you and your dear lady.

"The settlement of the Ohio country, sir, engrosses many of my thoughts, and much of my time since I left the camp has been employed in informing myself and others with respect to the nature, situation and circumstances of that country, and practicability of removing ourselves there; and if I am to form an opinion on what I have seen and heard on the subject, there are thousands in this quarter who will emigrate to that country as soon as the honorable Congress

* "Life of Manasseh Cutler, vol. i., p. 167.

make provisions for granting lands there, and locations and settlements can be made with safety, unless such provision is too long delayed—I mean, till necessity turn their views another way, which is the case with some already, and must soon be the case with many more. You are sensible of the necessity, as well as the possibility, of both officers and soldiers fixing themselves in business somewhere as soon as possible, as many of them are unable to lie long on their oars, waiting the decision of Congress on our petition, and therefore must unavoidably settle themselves in some other quarter, which, when done, the idea of removing to the Ohio country will probably be at an end with respect to most of them; besides, the commonwealth of Massachusetts have come to a resolution to sell their eastern country for public securities; and should their plan be formed and propositions be made public before we hear anything from Congress respecting our petition, and the terms on which the lands petitioned for are to be obtained, it will undoubtedly be much against us, by greatly lessening the number of Ohio associates.

“ Another reason why we wish to know as soon as possible what the intentions of Congress are respecting our petition, is the effect such knowledge will probably have on the credit of the certificates we have received in settlement of accounts. These securities are now selling at no more than three shillings and six pence or four shillings on the pound, which in all probability might double, if no more, the moment it was known that government would receive them for lands in the Ohio country. From these circumstances and many others which might be mentioned, we are growing quite impatient; and the general inquiry now is, when are we going to the Ohio? Among others, Brig.-Gen. Tupper, Lt.-Col. Oliver, and Maj. Ashley have agreed to accompany me to that country the moment the way is opened for such an undertaking. I should have hinted these things to some member of Congress, but the delegates from Massachusetts, though exceeding worthy men, and in general would wish to promote the Ohio scheme, yet, if it should militate against the particular interest of this state, by draining her of inhabitants, especially when she is forming the plan of selling the eastern country, I thought they would not be very warm advocates in our favor. And I dare not trust myself with any of the New York delegates with whom I am acquainted, because that government are wisely inviting the eastern people to settle in that state; and as to the delegates of other states, I have no acquaintance with any of them.

“ These circumstances must apologize for my troubling you on this subject, and requesting the favor of a line to inform us in this quarter what the prospects are with respect to our petition, and what measures have or are likely to be taken with respect to settling the Ohio country.

“ I shall take it as a particular favor, sir, if you will be kind enough

to recommend me to some character in Congress, acquainted with and attached to the Ohio cause, with whom I may presume to open a correspondence.

"I am, sir, with the highest respect,

"Your humble servant,

"RUFUS PUTNAM.

"Gen. WASHINGTON."*

On June 2, 1784, General Washington replied to General Putnam:

"MOUNT VERNON, June 2, 1784.

"DEAR SIR:—I could not answer your favor of the 5th of April, from Philadelphia, because General Knox, having mislaid, only presented the letter to me in the moment of my departure from that place. The sentiments of esteem and friendship which breathe in it are exceedingly pleasing and flattering to me, and you may rest assured they are reciprocal.

"I wish it was in my power to give you a more favorable account of the officers' petition for lands on the Ohio and its waters than I am about to do. After this matter, and information respecting the establishment for peace, were my inquiries, as I went through Annapolis, solely directed, but I could not learn that anything decisive had been done in either.

"On the latter, I hear Congress are differing about their powers; but, as they have accepted of the cession from Virginia, and have resolved to lay off ten new states, bounded by latitudes and longitudes, it should be supposed that they would determine something respecting the former before they adjourn, and yet I very much question it, as the latter is to happen on the third, that is to-morrow. As the Congress who are to meet in November next, by the adjournment, will be composed of an entire new choice of delegates in each state, it is not in my power, at this time, to direct you to a proper correspondent in that body. I wish I could, for persuaded I am that to some such cause as you have assigned may be ascribed the delay the petition has encountered; for, surely, if justice and gratitude to the army, and general policy of the Union, were to govern in this case, there would not be the smallest interruption in granting its request. I really feel for those gentlemen who, by these unaccountable delays (by any other means than those you have suggested), are held in such an awkward and disagreeable state of suspense, and wish my endeavors could remove the obstacles. At Princeton, before Congress left that place, I exerted every power I was master of, and dwelt upon the argument you have used, to show the propriety of a speedy decision. Every member with

* "Life of Manasseh Cutler," vol. i., p. 167.

whom I conversed acquiesced in the reasonableness of the petition. All yielded, or seemed to yield, to the policy of it, but pleaded the want of cession of the land to act upon ; this has been made and accepted, and yet matters, as far as they have come to my knowledge, remain in *statu quo*. I am endeavoring to do something with the lands I now hold and have held in that country these twelve or fourteen years. The inclosed contains the terms upon which I propose to lease them. If you think the promulgation of the paper inclosed can be of service to myself, it is optional with you to do so.

"I am, dear sir, with very sincere esteem and regard,

"Your most obedient servant,

"G. WASHINGTON.

"Gen. R. PUTNAM." *

* "Life of Manasseh Cutler," vol. i., p. 167.

INDEX.

- Acadians : nine sent to Wethersfield, 7 ; put under care of John Paterson, 7 ; history of, 8 ; disloyal to England, 8.
- Adams and Williamstown, (Mass.), Gen. Paterson disperses the rebels from, 368.
- Adams, John : defends the soldiers in Boston, 21 ; on sufferings of the army, 85 ; on a committee to collect evidence about the surrender of Ticonderoga, 120.
- Adams, Samuel : moves a committee of correspondence, 22 ; arrest of, ordered, 29 ; proposes a Continental Congress, 30 ; one of a committee to address the Mohawk and the Stockbridge Indians, 46 ; proscribed, 50 ; and Hancock not corruptible by Gov. Gage, 50 ; thinks independence necessary, 65.
- Adjutant-General : rank, 158.
- Agrippa (" Grippy ") Hull, Gen. Paterson's servant, 308.
- Aid-de-camp : pay of, 157 ; to a major-general to be a captain, 157.
- Alarm orders at Cambridge, 72 ; signals, 73.
- Alarm posts at West Point, 254.
- Albany : colonial congress at, in 1754, 16 ; to be taken by Burgoyne, 109 ; Burgoyne determines to capture, 132.
- Albemarle, Lord : commands the army sent to Martinique, 10 ; commands the army against Havana, 10.
- Allen, Parson, comes to Bennington, 118.
- Alliance with France celebrated, 152.
- America, Gladstone's opinion of, 306.
- American ports : closed by British, 9 ; opened by Congress, 9.
- Ames, Moses, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Amherst, Gen. Sir Jeffrey : commands expedition against Canada, 9, 10 ; commands expedition to Martinique, 10 ; advises the King to send reinforcements, 147.
- Amnesty : unconditional, granted after the surrender of Burgoyne, 136 ; offered the rebels on condition of taking the oath, 349 ; offered the insurgents, Feb. 16, 1787, 367 ; general, refused, 378.
- Amusements, 391.
- Anchors used in the obstructions at West Point, 191.
- André, Major, trial of, 225.
- Andrews, David, bond of, as paymaster with Major Paterson, 412.
- Anthony's Nose, obstructions at, 126.
- Arms delivered to Col. Paterson, 54.
- Arms taken from every one but soldiers, 218.
- Arms, want of, in 1780, 221.
- Armstrong, Major, author of the Newburgh letters, 274.
- Army : composed of men who were not soldiers, 64 ; at first local, 64 ; becomes the Continental, 64 ; had to be created and constantly made over, 64 ; a new one to be enlisted, 68 ; not necessary when Boston was surrendered, 73 ; from Boston sent to Canada, 82 ; a regular, not yet made, 101 ; organization of, begun again after Saratoga, 101 ; went home after Saratoga, 149 ; a large standing, not possible, 149 ; condition of, described by Washington, 149 ; only real representative of unity, 149 ; loss in, from sickness and exposure, 149 ; religious spirit of, 152 ; a standing, not allowed, 196 ; not paid in 1779, 205 ; in 1779 sustains itself by foraging, 205 ; deplorable condition of, in

- Army.—*Continued.*
 1780, 223; rebrigaded in 1781, 232; in the Highlands, value of, 244; distress of, in 1782, 280; organization of, in 1782, 284; disbanded, 301.
- Arnold, B.: letter to, by the Commissioners, about small-pox, 86; treated unfairly by Gates, 124; at Saratoga, 135; replaced by Gen. Lincoln, 135; at Bemis' Heights, 135; part of his treason in relation to the chain at West Point, 192; treason of, 222; plans frustrated, 223.
- Arnold, John, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Arsenal at Springfield to be attacked, 347.
- Artillery: how to be paid and equipped, 155; bowers of, dangerous, 271.
- Ashley, Col. John: signs a petition about small-pox, 315; replies to Gen. Paterson, 345.
- Ashley, Moses, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Assembly: not convened by the governor, 20; of Virginia dissolved by the governor, 31.
- Avery, Rev. D.: chaplain in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52, 96; account of the battle of Trenton, 100.
- Avery, John: orders the delivery of arms to Col. Paterson's regiment, 101; junior secretary, 320.
- Bacon, John, 1st lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Baggage train of the British in 1778, 162.
- Bail available for the criminal, but not for the debtor, 334.
- Balcarras, Earl, intrenchments of, assaulted, 135.
- Ball, John, interest in lands in Maine, 321.
- Bank of England founded by William Paterson, 1.
- Barker, James, signs a petition about small-pox, 315.
- Barnes, T., major in 12th Mass. Regiment, 143.
- Barnett, Rev. John, chaplain in 1783, 285, 299.
- Barren Hill, Lafayette at, 161.
- Bates, Edward, a wounded soldier in 1779, 204.
- Battles: of Bunker Hill, 59; of Moore's Creek, 91; of Trenton, 98, 99; of Princeton, 99; of Bennington, 118; of Freeman's Farm, 133, 134; of Saratoga, 134; of Stillwater, 134; of Bemis' Heights, 134; of Monmouth, councils previous to, 162.
- Beacons on the Hudson River, 79.
- Bedel, Col., his regiment at the Cedars to be inoculated, 86.
- Bement, E., of Great Barrington, tardily paid, 233.
- Bement, Major: wounded at Hubarton, 112; captain in 3d Mass. Brigade, 143.
- Bemis' Heights: situation of, 132; two battles of, 133, 134.
- Bennington: a depot of supplies, 118; battle of, 118; how regarded in England, 119, 151; battle of, swells the ranks of the Americans, 131; defeat at, disheartens Burgoyne, 131.
- Berkshire Convention, 29, 32.
- Berkshire County: settlers of, where from, 14; resists taxation without representation, 28; part of Hampshire County up to 1761, 31; appoints John Paterson to advise the Committee of Safety and Supplies about the appointment of officers, 48; towns dislike inoculation, 85; courts in, not to be held, 347; insurgents in, 360.
- Berkshire regiment: how composed, 42; marches immediately after the battle at Concord, 42.
- Bernard, Governor: orders £400 to be paid by the Assembly, 11; misrepresents the colonies, 19; requires Massachusetts to rescind the circular letter, 19; recalled and made knight, 21.
- Bill of Rights asserted by the discontented, 336.
- Bird, Joseph, father of Ruth Paterson, 5.
- Bird, Ruth, married Major Paterson, 3.
- Bishop, Nath., signs a petition about small-pox, 315.
- Blake, Joseph, interest in lands in Maine, 321.
- Blanchard, Claude, extract from his journal, 241.
- Blankets delivered to Col. Paterson, 62.

- Bliss, Theodore, captain in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Boats, order of Gen. Paterson about, 214.
- Books consulted, list of, 448.
- Boom at West Point used as a bridge, 190.
- Bordentown, burning of stores at, 152.
- Boston: declared rebellious, and troops sent there, 19, 20; troops withdrawn from, 20-22; tea ships sent to, 23; army about, increased, 38; town-meeting of March 5, 1775, 50; size of army besieging, 64; news that the troops were coming received at, 67; evacuation of, by the British, 75; resolves to sustain the governor, 346; merchants make a loan to the State, 350.
- Boston Common, troops encamped on, 20.
- Boston Massacre, 20.
- Boston Neck fortified by Gov. Gage, 35.
- Boston Port Bill, 25: reaches Boston, 28; day of going into effect made a fast, 29.
- Boston Purchase, 395.
- Boston Tea Party, 24: considered by some unwarranted, by others a splendid act, 25; how regarded in England, 25.
- Bowdoin, Governor: commission of, to Gen. Paterson, 320; calls a convention for a separate government of Maine, 322; visits the other governors, 375; refuses to have his salary reduced, 376; resigns, 378; as governor, 380; our debt to him, 382.
- Bowdoin, William, lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Bowers of the regiments dangerous, 271.
- Brackett, B., lieutenant-colonel 14th Mass. Regiment, 143.
- Bradford, G., colonel 14th Mass. Regiment, 143; colonel 3d Mass. Brigade (Paterson's), 168.
- Bradish, E., unjustly accused, and received a certificate to that effect, 48.
- Brandywine, defeat at, 109, 110.
- Brewer, S., colonel 12th Mass. Regiment, in 3d Mass. Brigade, 143.
- Brigade: major, pay of, 157; quartermaster, how appointed, 157; quartermaster, pay of, 157; 3d Mass., stationed at West Point, 176; 1st Mass., returns of, in 1781, 234; Gen. Paterson's, in 1781-82, 235.
- Brigading of regiments, 76.
- Bristol courts prevented from sitting, 344.
- British: control the sea, 78; take New York, 79; loss at Fort Washington, 89; sail past Fort Washington, 89; plan of campaign for 1776, 93; plan of campaign for 1777, 109; government repeal all oppressive acts after surrender of Burgoyne, 142; become conciliatory, 142; troops threaten to mutiny in 1778, 147; afraid of being blockaded in Philadelphia, 161; did not fear soldiers without uniforms, 161; after Monmouth, act on the defensive, 167; depend on their fleets, 196; fear an attack on New York over the ice, 242.
- Brooks, John, colonel in 7th Mass. Brigade in 1783, 285.
- Broome County, Gen. Paterson chief-justice in, 231.
- Brown, Col., in Paterson's brigade, 168.
- Brown, John, agent to collect news in Canada, 44.
- Brown, Justin, administers oath to John Paterson, 13.
- Brunson, Wm., signs a petition about small-pox, 315.
- Bunker Hill: taken possession of by order of the Committee of Safety, 57; battle of, 58; American loss in, 59; British loss in, 59; a few such British victories would have destroyed the British army, 60; Burgoyne starts on the second anniversary of, 109.
- Burgoyne: at Crown Point, 109; determines to take Albany, 109; Indian allies of, 109; receives the news of St. Leger's defeat, 109; takes the field, 109; confident of capturing the whole American army, 116; orders imperative, 124; sent from Canada to take Albany, 124; builds a bridge over the Hudson, 132; crosses the Hudson, 132; disheartened by his defeat at Benning-

Burgoyne.—*Continued.*

ton, 132; strives to retrieve the prestige of the British army after Bennington, 132; retreats across the Fishkill, 135; retreat cut off, 136; starts for Fort Edward, 136; sends a flag of truce to Gen. Gage, 136; surrenders, 136; army remain prisoners of war, 137; goes to England on parole, 138.

Burial done with feet to the east, 389.

Burke a friend of America, 147.

Burnam, John, proposed as major, 287.

Butter, value of, in 1780, 229.

Cady, Jeremiah, in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.

Cambridge: Second Provincial Congress meets at, 45; attack on, feared by Gen. Ward, 59; defended by Col. Paterson, 61; Gen. Washington takes command at, 63; court-martial at, 69; Washington's situation at, in October, 1775, critical, 69; cannon from Ticonderoga arrive at, 71; orders for alarm, 72; court at, protected, 349.

Camp an irregular one, 59.

Campaign: British plan of, for 1776, 93; for possession of the Hudson in 1776 ends in October, 142.

Canada: John Brown sent to collect men in, 44; invasion of, determined on, 67; army sent to, from Boston, 82; orders for, 83; abandoned by Burgoyne, 132; rebels seek aid in vain from, 377.

Canadian expedition hopeless, 86.

Candles wanted at West Point, 253.

Cannon: from Ticonderoga arrive in Cambridge, 71; used for signals, 79.

Carleton: retreats from Crown Point, 122; retreat from Crown Point helps Washington, 123.

Castle William, in Boston Harbor, 20.

Cavalry, how to be paid and equipped, 156.

Cedars, battle of the, Col. Paterson's loss at, 87.

Celebration at the birth of the Dauphin of France, 268.

Chain: at Fort Montgomery sent to England, 128; at West Point, 182; at West Point, contract for, 187; for West Point made at New Wind-

sor, 191; links of, by whom possessed, 192.

Chapin, Samuel, 1st Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 52.

Charles II.: grants a charter to Massachusetts Bay, 26; petitioned about the charter, 27.

Charleston, S. C.: tea ships sent to, 23; tea spoiled at, 24.

Charter: of Connecticut, when granted, 11; of Massachusetts Bay Co., surrender of, demanded, 26; of Massachusetts, a new one granted by William and Mary, 27; demanded, but not surrendered, 27; vacated in 1686, 27; of Massachusetts Bay Co. attacked, 323; declared void, 323.

Chatham, Lord: wishes to avoid the war, 31; wishes a repeal of oppressive laws, 38; speech of, in 1778 147; stricken with death in the House of Lords, 147.

Cheveaux de frise, 82; at Pallopel's Island, 131.

Chevron for Massachusetts troops 269.

Children, military play of, 394.

Childs, Dr. Timothy: in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 52; urges inoculation, 86.

Churchyard hired out, 389.

Cincinnati, Society of the: formation of, 311; Gen. Paterson president and vice-president of the Massachusetts Society, 311.

Circular letters sent by Massachusetts to the other colonies, 9.

Clarendon, Lord, grants charter to Connecticut, 11.

Clark, William, Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.

Clemency refused after June 29, 1787, 378.

Clinton, Gov.: adjourns the legislature to defend Fort Montgomery, 127; urges defenses at West Point, 184.

Clinton, Sir Henry: organizes an expedition up the river, 125; sends a message to Burgoyne too late, 133; communicates the conciliatory bills to Congress, 148; evacuates Philadelphia, 162; wishes to avoid fighting, 163; attacks Lee at Monmouth, 163; attacks Wayne at Monmouth, 164; attacks the left wing at Mon-

- Clinton, Sir Henry.—*Continued.*
mouth, 165; expected to capture the French army, 225; fears an attack on New York, 242; discovers that Washington has started south, 244; sails from New York to aid Cornwallis, 277.
- Clinton, Gen. James: escapes from Fort Montgomery, 127; commands in the Highlands, 130.
- Closterseven, an example of the refusal to ratify, 137.
- Clothes, value of a suit in 1780, 229.
- Clothing: perishing for want of transportation, 145; petition for, 197.
- Cobb, General, his reply to the rioters at Taunton, 344.
- Coffee, value of, in 1780, 229.
- Cole, Lieut. Thomas, aide-de-camp to Gen. Paterson, 232.
- Colonial Congress: first proposed, 17; governor's idea of, 17; people's idea of, 17.
- Colonies: governed by Lords of Trade, 15; relations with England peaceful, 17; all represented in the Continental Congress, 55; thirteen declare for independence, 107; independence acknowledged, 278.
- Colonists: wish only redress, 65; a commercial company, 385.
- Commerce thought to be the importation of luxuries, 339.
- Commissariat Department, inefficiency of, at Valley Forge, 145.
- Commission for peace: arrive June, 1778, 147; issue a proclamation, 148; not received by Congress, 148; return to Europe, 148.
- Commission of pardons restore 791 persons, 376.
- Commissioners: given power to suspend acts of Parliament, 136; sent to make a treaty of peace, 142; enraged, 148; appointed to grant pardons, 376.
- Commissions not sent by the Provincial Court, 67.
- Committee of Correspondence: moved for by Samuel Adams, 22; ask for advice about tea, 23; issue a circular letter to all the colonies, 28.
- Committee of Safety: commission John Paterson as colonel, 42; John Paterson on a committee to revise its commission, 43; order Bunker Hill to be occupied, 57; send Col. Paterson arms, 64.
- Committee of Safety and Supplies, John Paterson to advise, about officers from Berkshire, 48.
- Commutation of pay a grievance, 336.
- Companies, two more join Col. Paterson, 62.
- Conciliatory bills cause dissatisfaction, 147.
- Concord: troops sent to, to arrest Adams and Hancock, 50; and Lexington, battles of, result in Gov. Gage being besieged in Boston, 51; courts prevented from sitting, 344.
- Congress: of all colonies advocated in 1754 but failed, 16; of colonies called at Albany in 1754, 16; Colonial, first proposed, 17; Colonial, governor's idea of, 17; Colonial, people's idea of, 17; a general, called to protest against the Stamp Act, 18; at Worcester in 1774, 30; an annual, proposed, 31; assembles at Philadelphia, 35; Provincial, organized, 37; Provincial, Gov. Gage's reply to, 37; Provincial, guilty of treason, 37; Continental and Provincial, held in 1774, 38; made Declaration of Independence possible, 39; Provincial, supported by the towns, 41; First Provincial, why dissolved, 42; Second Provincial, assumes the government, 48; Second Provincial, delegates summoned to return, 50; Second Provincial, adjourns, 53; Third Provincial, meets at Watertown, 54; Continental, meets in Philadelphia, 54; Continental, provincial congresses surrender their powers to, 55; Continental, represents all the colonies, 55; Provincial, how to be considered, 56; Third Provincial, petitioned by Col. Paterson for supplies, 61; Provincial, neglects to send commissions, 67; sends men from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to Boston, 64; petitions the King, 64; resolves to send no more petitions to the King, 64; not willing to declare for independence, 85; Provincial, organized in North Carolina, 91; Continental, advises each colony to form a gov-

Congress.—*Continued.*

ernment, 91; Continental, issues letters of marque, 91; Continental, assembles at Philadelphia, 92; notified of the fall of Ticonderoga, 116; mortified by the surrender of Ticonderoga, 116; investigates the surrender of Ticonderoga, 116; to dictate terms of peace, 147; refuses to receive the commissioners, 148; proposed address to, 148; faith in, lost, 148; its powers not defined, 153; Continental, did not represent the country, 153; will treat only on basis of independence, 153; could not impose taxes, 229; without money in 1779, 229; issues "fiat" money, 229; redeems bonds in 1780, 230; memorial to, 256; members of, from Massachusetts, letter to, 258; petition to, 291; did not command the confidence of the people, 304; movement to compel it to fulfil its obligations, 305; spends part of the debt, 305; asked to defend its arsenal and to commission Gen. Lincoln, 375; Gen. Paterson in, 397.

Congressional currency, amount of, 148.

Connecticut: charter of, when granted, 11; number of men from, at Boston, 63; raises first American flag, 64; regiments rebel, 216.

Consignees of tea ships in Boston refuse to resign, 23.

Constitution of Massachusetts not to be amended until 1795, a cause of grievance, 338.

Continental Congress: proposed by the Sons of Liberty, 30; delegates to, appointed, 30; a second one appointed for May 11, 1775, 31; assembles at Philadelphia, 31, 35, 54, 92; provincial congresses surrender their powers to, 55; First, represents all the colonies, 55; issues letters of marque, 91; advises each colony to form a separate government, 91.

Continental currency, counterfeits, 195.

Continental money, value of, in 1778, 195.

Conventions: called at Boston, 20; in Berkshire County, 29; at Worcester,

30; at Stockbridge, 32; the Berkshire, 32; county, 32; in Suffolk County, 35; county, held in 1774, 38; county, made Declaration of Independence possible, 39; in Worcester and Suffolk Counties, 336; in Hatfield, 337; at Deerfield, 337; called to discuss grievances, 340; at first respectable, 341; in Hampshire County, 341; at Hatfield, Hampton County, definition of liberty at, 341; called at Worcester, 341, 349; at Lenox, 343; in Middlesex County, 344.

Corn, value of, in 1780, 229.

Cornwallis, Lord: asks leave to go to England, 98; news of defeat by Washington, 99; anxious for his supplies, retreats, 100; could not inform the King that the rebellion was suppressed, 101; surrenders, 100, 277; boasts, 228.

Council: of war in 1778, 152; previous to the battle of Monmouth, 167; for New England surrenders its charter, 324.

Counterfeits of continental currency, 195.

Country loses faith in Congress, 148.

Court, General: called by Gov. Gage, 35; order for, rescinded by Gov. Gage, 35; revocation of the order for, causes great dissatisfaction, 36; counter-proclamation of the governor disregarded, 36; to be held at Salem, 36; waits one day for the governor, 37; assembles on October 5, 1774, 37; attempts relief, 335; called for Feb. 3, 1787, indorses Gen. Lincoln, 357; offers rewards for the arrest of insurgents, 367.

Court, Superior, empowered to try persons obstructing the laws, 348.

Court-house in Lenox: when completed, 314; subscription to build, 412.

Court-martial, 71; at Cambridge, 69; of ensigns Sawyer and Frye, report of, 278.

Courts: closed in 1774, not opened till 1780, 31; re-established in 1780, 38; law, prejudice against, 333; a rich man's remedy, 336; obstructed, 340; sitting of, prevented at Springfield, 342; governor calls on the citizens to protect them, 342; pre-

Courts.—*Continued.*

- vented at Northampton, 342; prevented from sitting at Worcester, Concord, Taunton, and Bristol, 344; prevented at Great Barrington, 345; prevented at Springfield, 347; in Berkshire County not to be held, 347; prevented at Cambridge, 349; prevented at Springfield and Worcester, 350.
- Crane, Col. John, signs a petition to Congress, 282.
- Criminal could be bailed but the debtor not, 334.
- Crooper, Col., in Gen. Woodford's brigade, 168.
- Cross of St. George replaced by thirteen stars, 92.
- Crown Point: taken by the British, 84; sufferings of the army at, 85; surrenders to the Americans, 92; abandoned by the British, 93; Burgoyne at, 119; Carleton's retreat from, 122.
- Cumpston, Edw.: 2d lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, 68; asks for his commission, 68; 1st lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Currency: congressional, amount of, 148; counterfeit, worth about as much as real, 195; Continental Congress issue fifty millions, 196; false, difficult to distinguish, 205; of the country debased, 332.
- Cushing, Thomas, one of a committee to address the Mohawk and the Stockbridge Indians, 46.
- Cushman, Capt. Nathaniel, brigade major in 1783, 289.
- Danforth, Joshua, aide-de-camp to Gen. Paterson, 330.
- Darby, S., captain in 3d Mass. Brigade, 143.
- Darien canal, Wm. Paterson's remarks on, 1.
- Dauphin of France, birth of, celebrated, 268.
- Davis, Robert, second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Day, Luke: insurgent forces under, at West Springfield, 352; his character, 354; an abler man than Shays, 354; cannot co-operate with Shays, 354; irritated at Shays' failure, is routed by Gen. Lincoln, 356; not to be pardoned, 376.
- Debt: after the war, 305; war, how to be paid, 305; of Massachusetts in 1786, 333; of the State shown to be reasonable, 349.
- Debtor could not be bailed, 334.
- Debtor laws: severity of, 332; not ameliorated by the constitution of 1780, 334.
- Debts, by the law of 1782 made payable in cattle or produce, 340.
- Declaration of Independence: made possible, 39; accepted last by New York, 91; read at the head of each brigade, 91; made after eleven years of unprovoked irritation, 92; never reconsidered, 92.
- Deerfield convention, 337.
- Defenses of the Hudson River: in charge of a committee, 185; report of the committee on, 186.
- De Grasse, Count, enters the Chesapeake, 243.
- Delaware: votes for independence, 84; crossing of the, 98.
- Diary of Gen. Paterson, 415.
- Dibble, Charles, captain in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Dickinson, Elizur, sells lands to Gen. Paterson, 312.
- Discipline, neglect of, not tolerated, 63.
- Dissatisfaction among higher officers, 26.
- Distress of army on account of want of meat, 272.
- Dobbs' Ferry, Gen. Paterson erects a block-house at, 221.
- Dollar: paper, value of, in 1778, 229; in 1880, 236; silver, value of, in 1786, 332.
- Domestic life self-dependent, 393.
- Dorchester Heights fortified, 71.
- Douglas, Capt. Asa: in Col. Paterson's regiment, 53; letter about Ticonderoga, 106.
- Dragoons, how to be paid and equipped, 156.
- Duballet, John, interest in lands in Maine, 321.
- Duning, Benjamin, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Duties, except tea, repealed, 21.
- Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, holds mission lands, 312.

- Egleston, Azariah : in Col. Paterson's regiment, 51 ; deputy-quartermaster-general, 330 ; marries Hannah Paterson, 399 ; notice of, 399 ; inscription on the Paterson-Egleston monument, 447.
- Egleston, Thomas : puts up a tablet in Trinity Church, Lenox, 399 ; erects headstones in the cemetery, 402 ; erects monument in the town, 402 ; speech at unveiling of the monument, 425.
- Ellery, Jane, witness to Major Paterson's bond, 412.
- Ellsworth, Oliver, friend of Gen. Paterson, 12.
- Ely, Justin, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Ely, Samuel, riot made by, in 1782, 337.
- Emmons, Nathaniel, friend of Gen. Paterson, 12.
- Endicott defaces the flag, 66.
- England : relations of the colonies with, peaceful, 17 ; the acts of, considered despotic, 33 ; debt of, in 1778, 146.
- English : flag up to 1606, 66 ; flag in 1607, 66 ; dissatisfied at the time of Arnold's treason, 223.
- Enlistments : difficult in 1776, 97 ; for short periods, 101.
- Established religion : controlled everything, 386 ; abolished in 1820, 387.
- Farm, the Paterson, in Lenox, 312.
- Farmers : thought it of little importance to which party they belonged, 194 ; thought trade should bear the burden of taxation, 339.
- Farmington annexed to Newington, 2.
- Fellows, Brig.-Gen., at council of war at Fort Edward, 112.
- Fermoy, De Roche, Gen. : at council of war at Ticonderoga, 111 ; ordered to headquarters, 117.
- Fernald, T., major 12th Mass. Regiment, 143.
- Fiat money adopted by Congress, 228.
- Fighting but little after the treason of Arnold, 229.
- Fire : ships, 82 ; ships requested by Washington, 88 ; at West Point, Gen. Paterson at, 207.
- Fisheries reduced during the war and after, 339.
- Fishkill, Gen. Gates ordered to, 152.
- Fitch, Gerard : quartermaster in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52, 96 ; ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 96.
- Flag : the first American, used by Connecticut, 65 ; ceremony of raising the first American, 65 ; English, in 1607, 66 ; change of color accepted in Massachusetts, 66 ; of Massachusetts in 1651, 66 ; saluting it alarms the British, 66 ; the King's colors, 66 ; Washington advises the adoption of one, 66 ; union mottoes on, 67 ; for the army, 70 ; used for signals, 80 ; first, raised by Washington, 92 ; second, raised by Washington, 92 ; committee appointed to make one, 107 ; first one made by Betsey Ross, 107 ; first military service at Fort Stanwix, 108.
- Fleets : of England, France, and Spain, 196 ; British depend on, 196.
- Flour, value of, in 1780, 229.
- Flower of the Continental army, 70.
- Fort Clinton, 82, 127 ; called Fort Vaughn by British, 129 ; destroyed by the British, 129.
- Fort Constitution, 81 ; destroyed by Gen. Tryon, 128 ; refuses to surrender, 128.
- Fort Defiance at Ticonderoga, 110 ; occupied by Gen. Phillip, 110 ; neglecting to fortify similar to that at Dorchester in 1778, 111.
- Fort Edward, council of war at, 112.
- Fort George, Col. Paterson ordered to, 92.
- Fort Independence, 81.
- Fort Lafayette, 81.
- Fort Lee, 81 ; demolished, 89.
- Fort Montgomery : obstruction at, 82 ; Gen. Paterson at, 127 ; chain at, sent to England, 128 ; destroyed by British, 128.
- Fort Moultrie, battle of, 88.
- Fort Putnam, 82.
- Fort Stanwix : flag first used there, 108 ; to be taken by St. Leger, 122.
- Fort Vaughn, 129.
- Fort Washington, 81 ; obstruction at, 82, 89 ; taken by the British, 97.
- Forts Montgomery and Clinton, inquiries as to the loss of, 160.
- Fourth Mass. Brigade sent to Rhode Island, 176.
- Fox a friend of America, 147.

- France : makes a treaty with the United States, 146 ; alliance with, celebrated, 152 ; King of, receives the news of peace, 278 ; and Spain give money for the war, 305 ; and Spain and Holland, money borrowed from, 305.
- Francis, Col., in Gen. Paterson's brigade, 143.
- Francis, Philip, court-martial of, 274.
- Freeman's Farm : main fighting done by the left wing, 133 ; battle of, 133, 134.
- Freibeger, Col., in Woodford's brigade, 168.
- French and Spanish loans used in 1780, 229.
- French, in 1780, did not rely on Americans, 224.
- French officers go back to France, 160.
- French reinforcements, news of, reach Valley Forge, 152.
- Frigates, American, burned at Fort Montgomery, 128.
- Frye, Ensign, dispute of rank, 276.
- Gage, General : made governor, 28 ; offers pardon to all except Adams and Hancock, 57.
- Gage, Governor : issues a precept for a General Court, 35 ; rescinds the order for the General Court, 35 ; fortifies Boston Neck, 35 ; counter-proclamation disregarded, 36 ; replies to Provincial Congress resolution, 37 ; superseded by Gen. Howe, 38 ; refuses to recognize the Second Provincial Congress, 47 ; tries to corrupt Hancock and Adams, 50 ; besieged in Boston as the result of the battles of Lexington and Concord, 51 ; set aside, 55.
- Gardner, Colonel : ordered to reinforce Col. Paterson, 58 ; ordered to Prospect Hill, 58 ; and Paterson ordered to Bunker Hill too late, 58.
- Gaspee* seized and burned, 22.
- Gates, General : Col. Paterson sent to reinforce, 83 ; surprised at the celerity of Gen. Paterson, 105 ; letter to, 106 ; superseded by Gen. Schuyler, 107 ; censured for the fall of Ticonderoga, 114 ; supersedes Gen. Schuyler, 116 ; commands the right wing of the American army, 133 ; receives a flag of truce from Burgoyne, 136 ; impressed with himself, 144 ; tries to supersede Washington, 145 ; ordered to Fish-kill, 152 ; commands at West Point, 160 ; ordered to Boston, 175.
- General Court : demands the removal of the soldiers, 21 ; order for, revoked by Gov. Gage, 30 ; revocation of the order for, causes great dissatisfaction, 36 ; counter-proclamation of the governor disregarded, 36 ; to be held at Salem, 36 ; assembles on Oct. 5, 1774, 37 ; waits one day for the governor, 37 ; decides to remove from Boston, 348 ; does not vote money to carry out its measures, 349 ; orders the governor to write to the governors of other States to arrest rebels, 372 ; thanks the officers and soldiers, 374 ; convenes for the fourth time, 378.
- George III. : relation to the colonies, 11 ; accession of, 18 ; antagonistic to the colonies, 18 ; contemptuous reception of the petition against the tea tax, 19 ; thinks Americans cowards, 28 ; Lenox loyal to, up to 1774, 34 ; oath to, repudiated, 39 ; determines to hire troops, to send to Boston, 67 ; called "that man George" by the Massachusetts troops, 70 ; refuses to receive the delegation sent to ask for redress, 90 ; statue cast into bullets, 91 ; signs the bill repealing all oppressive acts, 136.
- Georgia : sends no delegates to Continental Congress but promises to abide by it, 30 ; delegates vote for independence, 75.
- German, Lord : his plan for 1776, 123 ; satisfied that this plan could not fail, 123 ; not correctly copied, 124.
- Gibbs, Caleb, major in 2d Mass. Regiment, in 1783, 249.
- Gladstone : opinion of America, 306 ; on the United States, 405.
- Goodrich, Capt. William : one of committee to purchase blankets, 44 ; with Col. Paterson to prepare address to the Stockbridge Indians, 44 ; permission to augment his company, 47 ; certifies to the captains in Col. Paterson's regiment, 53 ; letter of Gen. Paterson about, 108 ; receives a commission as captain, in 3d Mass. Brigade, 119.

- Goodrich, Charles, signs a petition about small-pox, 315.
- Gorges, Sir Fernando: a soldier of fortune, 323; made Lord Paramount of Maine, 324; to be governor, 324.
- Gorham, Nath., speaker of the House in Boston, 316.
- Government: provisional, formed, 35; carried on by the people without the governor, 53; carried on, by the common consent of the people, by the Provincial Congress, 55.
- Governor: calls a meeting of the legislature for Sept. 27th, 14; orders the tea to be landed, 24; dissolves the Massachusetts Assembly, 30; resolutions sent to, by the General Court, 37; calls on citizens to protect the courts, 342; sustained by the people of Boston, 346; calls the General Court for Oct. 18, 1786, 347; advises the judges at Worcester to adjourn, 350.
- Governors: of colonies, appointed by Lords of Trade, 15; of Pennsylvania and Maryland hereditary, 15; of Rhode Island and Connecticut elected by the people, 15; consider the assertion of rights rebellion, 15; assume the royal prerogative, 15, 16; misrepresent the people, 16; try to break up colonial organization, 16; royal, hold that the people have no rights, 29.
- Great Barrington: court not allowed to sit at, 30, 345; precedent of 1774 followed, 346.
- Great Britain must fire the first shot, 51, 54.
- Greaton, Col. J., signs a petition to Congress, 282.
- Greaton, Gen., commands the 2d Mass. Brigade, 290.
- Grenadiers, British, at Monmouth, 165.
- Grievances: presented to the legislature, 348; public, reported, 376.
- "Grippy" Hull: Gen. Paterson's servant, 308; dinner at West Point, 309; runs away from Kosciusko, 310; after the war lives in Stockbridge, 310.
- Guards, account of, 269.
- Habeas corpus* act suspended, 348.
- Hall, Mathias, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Hamilton, Col.: aid to Washington, 138; letter of, 139.
- Hamlin, Perez, pillages Stockbridge, 373.
- Hampshire County: included Berkshire up to 1761, 33; convention at Hatfield, definition of liberty at, 341.
- Hancock, Belcher, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Hancock, John: arrest of, ordered, 29; proscribed, 50; and Adams not corruptible by Gov. Gage, 50; elected president of the Continental Congress, 54; elected governor, 378; as governor, 380.
- Haskell, Captain, ordered under arrest, 273.
- Haskell, Major, brigade-major, 197.
- "Hated Highlands," a military station, 306.
- Hatfield, convention at, 337.
- Havana, expedition to, 10, 11.
- Haywood, Captain: letter to the committee, 257; sent to Philadelphia, 257.
- Hazen, Brig.-Gen. Moses, signs the petition to Congress for Massachusetts, 282.
- Headquarters, established in the fall of 1780, at New Windsor, 230.
- Heath, Gen.: letter from Gen. Paterson, 102; letter to Gen. Paterson, 104; commands at Peekskill, 130; Col. in Woodford's brigade, 168; letter of, 198; at West Point, 1780, 205; to Gen. Paterson, March 27, 1780, 207; to Gen. Paterson, Feb. 5, 1780, 210; to Gen. Paterson, 210; forwards Gen. Paterson's letter, 205; in 1782, 245; to Gen. Paterson, 248; to Gen. Paterson, 251; to Gen. Paterson, 253; to Gen. Paterson, 255; orders of, 267; to Gen. Paterson, 271; grants Gen. Paterson a furlough, 271.
- Henry, Patrick, his speech on the Stamp Act in 1765, 18.
- Hessian, a term of derision, 395.
- Hessians: the sending of, helped the idea of independence, 90; sent to Pennsylvania, 98.
- Highlands: defended, 129; of the Hudson reconnoitered, 160; no special locality, 162; the "hated," 229; used to make feints from in 1780, 229.

- Hitchcock, Enos, chaplain of Gen. Paterson's brigade, 221, 232.
- Holland, Spain, and France, money borrowed from, 305.
- Holmes, Rev. Stephen, marries Anne Paterson, 4, 411.
- Hopewell, council of war at, 162.
- Hospital, return of Col. Paterson's regiment from, 85.
- Hostages to be made of king's officers, 35.
- Howe, General: succeeds Gov. Gage, 38; only one of his staff survives his wounds, 59; sends the King's speech to Washington, 70; determines to take Dorchester Heights but puts it off until too late, 71; determines to evacuate Boston, 75; receives no unconditional orders, 109; orders of, detained, 124; receives his unconditional orders in August, 125; learns of capture of Ticonderoga, 125; at Philadelphia, 149; gains nothing from taking Philadelphia, 149; in the position of one defeated, 151; finds it difficult to provision Philadelphia, 161; letter of, 198.
- Howe, Sir William: to come up the Hudson, 109; ordered to support Burgoyne, 110; starts to capture Washington, 110; to take Albany, 122.
- Hubarton, battle of, 112.
- Hudson River: to be defended, 77; defense of, given to a secret committee, 78; cuts the colonies in two, 78; control of, necessary to both British and Americans, 79; forts on, 81, 82; campaign for possession of, 142; march to, from Valley Forge, 162; Washington urges the recovery of the forts on, 184; report of the committee on, 186; possession of, the object of the war, 193.
- Hull, Agrippa, Gen. Paterson's servant, 308.
- Hutchinson, Governor: appointed, 21; favors the Stamp Act, 21; asked about the judges' salaries, 22; says the colonists had not the right to petition the Assembly, 22; returns to England, 29.
- Hutts assigned in 1783, 290.
- Hyde, Caleb: sent to Third Provincial Congress, 54; account of the suppression of the courts at Great Barrington, 345.
- Hyde, Clarissa, marries Josiah Lee Paterson, 399.
- Impressment, common, 20.
- Indemnity, change in the bill for, 378.
- Independence: not generally wished for, 64; idea of, started by George III.'s proclamation, 71; determined on after surrender of Burgoyne, 142; the only basis of treaty, 153.
- Independence, Declaration of: promulgated, 91; made after eleven years of unprovoked irritation, 91; accepted last by New York, 92; never reconsidered, 92.
- Indians, Mohawk, address to, 46.
- Indians, Stockbridge: address to, 44; enlist a full company, 45; speech of chief of, 45; soldiers ask to have their money taken care of, 46.
- Infantry, light, ordered formed, 117; how to be paid and equipped, 154.
- Ingersol, Captain, in Col. Paterson's regiment, 53.
- Inoculation: against small-pox, 85; introduced by Lady Mary Wortley, 85; prejudice against it, 86; treatment for, 86.
- Insignia of royalty removed, 91.
- Insubordination result of dissatisfaction, 218.
- Insurgents marching from New York State, 373.
- Interest, high rates of, in 1786, 332.
- Ireland, agitation in, encouraged by defeat of Cornwallis, 277.
- Jackson, Col. H., Gen. Paterson's letter to, 253, 254.
- Jackson, Henry, Col. in 4th Massachusetts Regiment in 1783, 285.
- Jackson, Col. M., of 8th Massachusetts Regiment, 232.
- Jay, Sir James, allowed to experiment at West Point, 209.
- Jefferson not convinced that independence was necessary, 65.
- Jehiel, 2d Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Jenkins, Ebenezer, signs a petition about small-pox, 315.
- Johnson, David, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Johnson, Joseph, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.

- Jones, Israel, signs a petition about small-pox, 315.
- Jones, Paul, exploits of, 196.
- Jones, William, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Judges: salaries to be paid by the crown, 22; salaries offered to, by the Assembly on pain of impeachment, 23; not allowed to sit in Worcester, 35.
- Jumper, a kind of sled, 392.
- Jury-list, names of rebels removed from, 375.
- Kelton, Samuel, captain in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Kilborn, Samuel, marries Maria Paterson, 374.
- King, the: his officers to be held as hostages for political offenders, 35; his colors to be displayed at Boston Port, 66; proclamation of, read in camp, 70; delays the execution of the conciliatory bills, 147.
- King George: called "That man George," 70; announces that he will never give up the colonies, 70; refuses to see delegates sent to him, 90; after the surrender of Cornwallis unable to pursue the war, 277.
- Kirkland, Rev. Mr., address to, for the Stockbridge Indians, 46.
- Knap, Moses, major in 11th Massachusetts Regiment, 143.
- Knox, Maj.-Gen. H.: appeals to Congress on behalf of troops, 232; letter of committee to, 257; signs a petition to Congress, 282; letter to Gen. Paterson, 295.
- Kosciusko: fortifies Bemis' Heights, 133; remains here, 160; fortifies West Point, 160; fortifies Bemis' Heights, 183; appointed engineer at West Point, 190; works at the fortifications, 210; a friend of Gen. Paterson, 308; receives "Grippy" as a present, 308.
- Lafayette: urges Congress to refuse to ratify the capitulation of Burgoyne, 137; remains here, 160; sends for Washington at Monmouth, 163; suspicion of, 163.
- Land: should be a legal tender, 334; to be free, trade to bear the burden of taxation, 339.
- Land grants, petition about, 253, 254.
- Laurens, on a committee to collect evidence about the surrender of Ticonderoga, 120.
- Law, all forms of, broken up in Massachusetts, 38.
- Lawyers: power of, to be restrained, 335; should be abolished, 337; in 1786 excluded from the legislature, 337.
- Leaders of discontent not wanting, 334.
- League and Covenant, the Solemn, 32.
- Learned, Brig.-Gen., at council of war at Fort Edward, 112.
- Learned, Simeon, aide-de-camp to Gen. Paterson, 330.
- Leave of absence given to generals, 292.
- Lechmere's Point, Col. Paterson's regiment at, 68, 69.
- Ledyard, John, witness to Major Paterson's bond, 412.
- Lee (Mass.), rebels are prevented from the courts in, 370.
- Lee, Elizabeth, marries John Paterson, 6, 12.
- Lee, General: made prisoner by the British, 97; commences to conspire, 98; makes traitorous proposals to Howe, 109; ordered to attack at Monmouth, but fails, 163; orders a retreat at Monmouth, 164; a greater traitor than Arnold, 166; treachery of, prolongs the war, 166; plans frustrated, 223.
- Lee, Jonathan: in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 52; surgeon's mate, 96.
- Lee, R. H., to collect evidence about Ticonderoga, 120.
- Legal tender should be made of land, 334.
- Legislature: to be suspended for resistance to the tea tax, 19; grievances presented to, 348; of April 27, 1787, conservative and refuse a general amnesty, 378.
- Lenox: John Paterson removes to, 13; history of, 13; set off from Richmond, 14; refuses to submit to the tea tax, 23; incorporated in 1767, 33; loyal to George III. up to 1774, 34; issues no more warrants in the King's name, 34; instructs John Paterson, 36; asserts her independence, 37; makes pro-

Lenox.—Continued.

- vision for arms, 42; appoints a committee to collect grain, 43; John Paterson moderator of a town meeting, 44; provides muskets, 48; votes to abide by the Provincial Congress, 48; first departure of armed men from, 54; sends Caleb Hyde to Third Provincial Congress, 54; instructs her representatives, 56; authorizes her delegates to vote for independence, 56; calls town meetings in the name of the people of Massachusetts Bay, 56; watches unfriendly persons, 56; sends two more companies after Bunker Hill, 61; ministry change after the defeat of Cornwallis, 277; minister's grant of lands, 312; for the county town, contest about, 313; fixed on as the county town, 313; court-house, when completed, 314; convention at, 343; people of, not willing to resort to violence, 343; first house in, 386; court-house, subscription to build, 412.
- Letter: of Gen. Paterson to Watertown, 62; of Col. Paterson to Provincial Congress, 68; of Gen. Paterson to President of the Council, 115.
- Letters and correspondence stilted, 390.
- Levies of troops, Gen. Paterson's receipts for, 221.
- Lexington: battle of, results from the order to arrest Hancock and Adams, 29; Berkshire regiment marches after the battle of, 42; and Concord, battles of, result in besieging Gov. Gage in Boston, 51.
- Liberty, definition of, at Hatfield Convention, 341.
- Liberty*, sloop, seized, 20.
- Lincoln, General: cuts off Burgoyne's supplies, 132; forces Burgoyne to move forward, 133; takes command of right wing at Saratoga, 134; put in command of troops, 352; writes to Gen. Paterson, Jan. 22 and 23, 1787, 352, 353; routs Luke Day at West Springfield, 356; demands Shays' surrender, 356; indorsed by the General Court, 357; refuses to admit Shays' claims, 357; marches on Shays at Petersham, 358; sends orders to Gen. Paterson, Jan. 28, 1787, 358; order of, to Gen. Paterson about leniency, 360; writes to Gov. Bowdoin, Feb. 1, 1787, 361; writes to Gen. Paterson, Feb. 1, 1787, 362; starts for Berkshire, 366; writes Gen. Paterson about the defeat at Petersham, 366; writes Gen. Paterson from Pittsfield, Feb. 12, 1787, 369, 370; promises reinforcements to Gen. Paterson, Feb. 12, 1787, 370; petition to, to restore arms to a former rebel, 371; orders troops from Gen. Paterson, 372; informs Gen. Paterson of the arming at Lanesboro, 374.
- "Lister," means assessor, 1.
- Lithgow, Major, wounded at Freeman's Farm, 133; a major in 11th Massachusetts Regiment, 143.
- Littlefield, A.M., Lieut.-Col. in 11th Massachusetts Regiment, 143.
- Littlefield, Jeremiah, 2d Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Lodge, Washington, 270.
- London, servant of Major Paterson, 11.
- Long, Col., at council of war at Ticonderoga, 110.
- Lord, Nathan, 2d Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Loyalty a part of religion, 38.
- Lusk, James, marries Sarah Paterson, 3, 410.
- Lyman, Maj.-Gen., commands colonial troops sent against Havana, 11, 12.
- Lyon, Jacob, second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, asks for his commission, 68.
- Maine: deed of land in, 321; convention called for a government separate from Massachusetts, 322; separated from Massachusetts, 323; how it came to belong to Massachusetts, 323; Lord Paramount of, title purchased by the Massachusetts Bay Co., 324.
- Major-generals: all ordered to organize their forces, 350; of Massachusetts, list of, 414.
- Mandamus councilors: decline to act, 30; John Paterson a committee on, 43.
- Manufacturers depressed after the war, 333.

- Marblehead : a port of entry, 28 ; invites Boston to use her port free, 28.
- March, order of, on Aug. 13, 1777, 117.
- Marie Antoinette declares the English bought peace, 278 ; receives the news of peace, 278.
- Marque, letters of, issued by the Continental Congress, 91.
- Marshall, T. : Col. of 10th Mass. Regiment, 143 ; Col. 3d Mass. (Paterson's) Brigade, 168.
- Martin, Peggy, court-martial of, 274.
- Martin, Solomon, 2d Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Masonic : celebration at West Point, 201 ; lodges, 269.
- Massachusetts : refuses to pay £400 expended by Gov. Barnard, 11 ; resists the tea tax, 19 ; sends a circular letter to the other colonies, 19 ; required to rescind her circular letter, 19 ; threatened for resistance to the tea tax, 19 ; no longer recognizes the King and Parliament, 29 ; Assembly convened for June 7th, 30 ; forms of law in, broken up, 38 ; number of men at Boston, 64 ; ends her proclamation with, "God save the people," 64 ; first to elect a legislature, 64 ; troops no longer recognize George III., 73 ; equal to its own defense, 73 ; troops ordered to New York, 75 ; troops in 1780-81 winter at West Point, 128 ; repeal of the charter of, repealed after the surrender of Burgoyne, 136 ; brigades at West Point, 176 ; brigades complimented by Gen. Washington, 268 ; how it became possessed of Maine, 323 ; debt of, in 1786, 333 ; established religion of, 386.
- Massachusetts Bay Co. : charter of, 26 ; charter of, attacked, demanded, declared void, 323 ; purchases Maine and becomes Lord Paramount of Maine, 324.
- Maxwell, Lieut.-Col. H., signs a petition to Congress, 282.
- McCrea, Jane, report of murder of, swells the American ranks, 132.
- McDongall, General : signals, 81 ; to Gen. Paterson, Dec. 7, 1788, 172 ; commands West Point, 160, 175 ; puts Gen. Paterson in command of West Point, 175 ; to Gen. Paterson, Dec. 21, 1778, 176 ; appointed to command in Highlands, 189 ; his orders to Col. Burr, 197 ; letter of, 197 ; order of arrest, 247.
- McKinstry, Capt. John : joins Col. Paterson's regiment, 53, 55 ; asks for his commission, 68.
- McKinstry, Thomas, first lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, asks for his commission, 68.
- Meat, want of, 272.
- Meeting-house, the centre of social and town life, 386.
- Mercenaries to be used, news of, reaches Boston, 67.
- Merrick, Pliny, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Merrill, Samuel, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Middlesex County : convention, 344 ; troops, order to, 351.
- Military matters, Gen. Paterson active in, 393.
- Military organizations regarded as useful, 40.
- Military play of children, 394.
- Militia : towns to choose officers of, 35 ; not soldiers but excellent marksmen, 50.
- Miller, Jeremiah, second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Ministry threaten Massachusetts for resistance to the tea tax, 19.
- Mismanagement at Valley Forge, 149.
- Mix, Rev. Stephen, marries James Paterson, 1 ; baptizes John, 3.
- Mohawk Indians, address to, 46.
- Mohawk Valley, to be captured by St. Leger, 109.
- Moncton, Colonel, at Monmouth, 164.
- Money : fiat, adopted by Congress, 153 ; want of, brings the campaign of 1778 to a close, 195 ; borrowed from France, Spain, and Holland, 305.
- Monmouth : councils previous to the battle of, 162 ; battle of, 165 ; saved by Steuben and Washington, 166 ; loss at, 166 ; victory claimed by both sides, 166 ; after the battle of, army moves to White Plains, 167 ; after the battle of, the British act on the defensive, 167.

- Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, introduces the process of inoculation for small-pox, 82.
- Montreal, Col. Paterson arrives at, 84.
- Monument to Gen. Paterson, unveiling of, 419.
- Moore's Creek: battle of, 71; effect of victory at, 71, 91.
- Morgan's riflemen arrive too late, 145.
- Morse, Joseph, Gen. Paterson's letter about, 141; major 12th Mass. Regiment, 143.
- Mortality in the army not necessary, 153.
- Moses Creek Camp, Gen. Paterson at, 116.
- Mothksin, J., chief of Stockbridge Indians, 44.
- Mount Independence fortified by Gen. Paterson, 92.
- Music cultivated in New England towns, 216.
- Muster, the annual, 394.
- Mutiny in Philadelphia, 296.
- Navy wanting to Americans, 196.
- Nelson's Point, Gen. Paterson's brigade at, 199.
- New Britain: John Paterson (1st) born in, 1; formerly part of Farmington, 1.
- Newburgh letters, 292; Washington assailed in, 293.
- Newell, Samuel, witness to Major Paterson's will, 411.
- New Hampshire: number of men at Boston, 64; legislature surrounded, 347.
- Newington: annexed to Farmington, 2; John Paterson (1st) lived in, 2.
- New Providence, John Paterson a committee on, 48.
- News that mercenaries are to be used reaches Boston, 67.
- New Windsor, chain made at, 191.
- New York City: withdraws from non-importation, 22; letter denounced, 22; tea ships sent to, 23; Massachusetts troops ordered to, 71; taken by the British, 79.
- New York Harbor: controlled by British, 78; frozen over in the winter of 1779-80, 242.
- New York State: accepts the Declaration of Independence last, 91; necessary to the British, 109; in 1777, number of inhabitants, 171,000, 123; asked to select the place on the Hudson to fortify, 160; legislature, Gen. Paterson in, 396.
- Nixon, Brig.-Gen., at council of war at Fort Edward, 112.
- Noble, David, captain in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 52, 96.
- Noble, Townsend & Co. contract for the chain at West Point, 187.
- Non-importation agreement, New York withdraws from, 22.
- Northampton, prevention of the session of the courts at, 342.
- North Carolina: instructs her delegates to vote for independence, 76; takes the first aggressive step, 91; organizes a Provincial Congress, 91.
- Note, holder of, not to be paid full value of, unless it was issued to him, 338.
- Oath to George III. repudiated, 39.
- Obstruction: at Fort Montgomery, 82; at Fort Washington, 82; at Pollopel's Island, 82; at West Point, 82; at West Point, weight of, 126; at West Point, construction of, 190; of the Hudson, 193; of the Hudson, results of, 193.
- Officers: knew little of military organization, 64; rank fixed, 200; half pay, amount of commutation, 338; half pay a grievance, 338.
- Ohio lands, correspondence concerning, 454-462.
- Ohio scheme alluded to in petition to Congress, 291, 458.
- Orders: to march to New York, 74; for Canada, 83; at Valley Forge, 150; for August, 1781, 243; to move south, 244.
- Organizations of colonies for conference not liked by the governor, 16.
- Osborne, Sally, marries John Pierce Paterson, 401.
- Otis, James: assaulted by the soldiers, 21; in the battle of Bunker Hill, 59.
- Paper money: based on nothing, 148; holders of, did not present it in 1780, 229; irredeemable, recommended, 342.
- Pardon: of rioters considered as a justification, 337; asked by twenty towns, 368; to rebels, commission to grant, 376; of rebels, 379.

- Parker, Enos, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Parliament: acts of, burned by the hangman, 29; repeals all oppressive acts after the surrender of Burgoyne, 136; gives power to commissioners to suspend any act, 136; commissioners come too late, 142; hopes something from the dissatisfaction of the Puritans, 147; bills of, burned under the gallows, 148.
- Parmenter, Gen. Shepard sent to Vermont to arrest, 371.
- Parsons, Eli: heads four hundred insurgents, 352; issues a manifesto, 370; not to be pardoned, 376; asks for pardon and is prohibited from holding any office, 380.
- Parsons, Isaac, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Paterson, Ann, marries Rev. Stephen Holmes, 411.
- Paterson, Betsey, 401.
- Paterson, Elizabeth: a remarkable woman, 12, 402; died, 13, 402.
- Paterson families, 409; origin of, 1, 451.
- Paterson family settled in Wethersfield, 1.
- Paterson, Hannah, 399.
- Paterson, James: married Mary Talcott, 1; assessor of Wethersfield, 1; selectman, 1.
- Paterson, John (1st): born in Wethersfield, 1; lived in Newington, 2; removed to Farmington, 2; always called Mr., 2; married Ruth Bird, 3; on "the prudential committee," 5; gives bonds for the New London Society, 6; care of the Acadians, 6; made deacon, 9; a slave owner, 9; agent for New Britain, 9; enlisted as a private, 9; ensign, 9; lieutenant, 9; captain, 9; major, 9; justice of the peace and quorum, 10; commission as colonel not found, 10; goes as captain and paymaster to Havana, 10; dies in Havana, 11; will of, 410; his bond as paymaster, 411.
- PATERSON, JOHN: born in Newington, 6, 11; graduated at Yale College, 11; teaches school, 12; lives in New Britain, 12; marries Elizabeth Lee, 12; removes to Lenox, 13; chosen Clerk of the Propriety of Lenox, 13; last Clerk of the Propriety, 14; a loyal subject, 25; sent to the Berkshire Convention, 29, 32; sent to Salem, 36; instructions to, by Lenox, 36; representative at the General Court of 1774, 40; one of a committee to collect grain and ammunition, 40; appointed to examine the stores of the commissary general's department, 41; raises a regiment, 41; commissioned as colonel, 42; advises preparation for war, 42; elected to the Second Provincial Congress, 43; sent to Cambridge, 43; chairman of committee on mandamus councilors, 43; on committee to revise the commission of Committee of Safety and Supplies, 43; on committee to inquire into state of the militia, 43; to collect the sentiments of the people of Quebec, 43; appointed to bring in a resolution relative to the adjournment of the Second Provincial Congress, 44; chosen moderator of Lenox town meeting, 44; selectman, assessor, and collector of school tax of Lenox, 44; appointed to draft an address to the Stockbridge Indians, 44; on a committee to address the Mohawk Indians, 46; to advise about Capt. Goodridge's company, 48; to advise the Committee of Safety and Supplies, 48; always consulted about military affairs, 48; on committee on the affairs of New Providence, 48; a committee to give a certificate to E. Bradish, 48; on a committee to determine about the assumption of the government, 48; ancestors fled from tyranny in Scotland, 48; explains the condition of affairs to his constituents, 48; a leader of men, 49; starts for Lenox immediately after the battles of Lexington and Concord, 51; his regiment made part of the Continental Army, 51; regiment of, in 1775, 52; return of his regiment for May, 1775, 52; certificate to Provincial Congress, 53; member of many committees in First and Second Provincial Congresses, 53; arms delivered to, 54; his regiment to be paid, 55; his regiment serve as minute-men, 57;

PATERSON, JOHN.—*Continued.*

his regiment transferred to Continental service, 57; his regiment re-enlist for eight months, 57; his regiment become the 15th Foot, 57; his regiment build Fort No. 3, 57; defends Fort No. 3, 57; ordered by Washington to remain at Fort No. 3, 58; ordered to defend Prospect Hill, 58; and Gardner ordered to Bunker Hill too late, 58; in the afternoon of Bunker Hill, 59; ordered to defend Cambridge, 59; petitions Third Provincial Congress for supplies, 61; wishes his guns repaired, 62; receives arms from the Committee of Safety, 62; presides at a court-martial, 62, 69, 71; certifies the petition of his officers, 67; position of his regiment, 67; at Lechmere's Point, 68, 69; his regiment with Ward's and Putnam's called "the flower of the Continental Army," 70; refills his regiment, 70; his regiment goes into barracks at Prospect Hill, 70; dislodges the British in Charlestown, 71; shows bravery in putting out a fire, 73; regiment starts for New York, 73; stationed on Staten Island, 75; sent to Canada, 82; sails for Canada, 83; arrives in Canada too late except to participate in the suffering of the troops, 83; did not take small-pox, 84; his regiment to be inoculated at Montreal, 84; retreats from Canada, 84; at Sorel with only six men fit for duty, 87; at the battle of the Cedars, 87; recommended for promotion, 90; fortifies Mount Independence, 92; first in the 2d and then in the 3d Brigade, 92; ordered to Fort George, 93; leaves Lake George, 93; ordered to Stillwater, 93; doing duty of a general, 93; brigades ordered to go to him for orders, 93; sent to reinforce Washington, 93; joins Washington, 94; losses of his regiment, 94; leaves Saratoga for Albany, 94; his regiment in 1776, 96; crosses the Delaware with Washington, 98; at Trenton, 98; at Princeton, 99, 100; his chaplain's account of the battle of Trenton, 100; successful in enlisting,

101; transferred to another regiment, 102; made brigadier-general, 102; letter to Gen. Heath, 102; letter to Gen. Ward, 103; letter from Gen. Heath, 104; goes to Ticonderoga, 105; his regiment poorly supplied, 105; letter to president of the council, 105; fortifies Fort Independence, 105; writes on behalf of Capt. Goodrich, 108; at councils of war at Ticonderoga, 111, 112; brig.-gen., at council of war at Fort Edward, 112; at Moses Creek camp, 116; ordered to headquarters, 117; not criminated by the surrender of Ticonderoga, 121; at Fort Montgomery, 127; in the right wing, 133; at Stillwater, 133; at Bemis' Heights, 135; frustrates the plans of Burgoyne, 135; after the second battle of Bemis' Heights, 136; acts bravely at the surrender of Burgoyne, 136; after the surrender of Burgoyne, 140; letter to General Washington, 140; his brigade small, 141; letter about Joseph Morse, 141; Whitmarsh, 141; at Valley Forge, 144, 146; undertakes fortifications of left wing at Valley Forge, 146; orders all absentees to return, 149; on a court-martial, 152; to administer the oath to officers, 160; at the Monmouth council, 162; at Monmouth, 164, 165; after Monmouth, 167; to select his colors, 168; brigade, 168; orders for Sept., Oct., Nov., and Dec., 1778, 170, 171; letter of Gen. McDougall to, 172; writes to Gen. McDougall, Dec. 8, 1778, 174; commands at West Point in 1778, 175; put in command of West Point by wish of all the generals, 176; why appointed to West Point, 176; letter to Gen. McDougall, Dec. 29, 1778, 178; letter to Gen. McDougall, Jan. 5, 1779, 179; leaves chain at West Point to Gen. Putnam, 189; and others petition Congress in 1779, 197; at Nelson's Point in 1779, 199; his men work on the batteries, 199; on a board for ranking officers, 200; his brigade ordered to the Point, 201; master of Wash-



PATERSON, JOHN.—*Continued.*

ington Lodge, 201; applies to purchase clothing, 202; writes to the Board of War, 202; commands West Point, 203; writes to Gen. Heath, 205, 206; at a fire in West Point, 207; to Gen. Heath, Jan. 27, 1780, 208; to Gen. Heath, Feb. 1, 1780, 208; to Gen. Heath, Feb. 5, 1780, 209; to Gen. Heath, Feb. 6, 1780, 211; receives money from Massachusetts, 213; stationed at West Point, 213; to Gen. Heath, March 31, 1781, 214; to Gen. Heath, May 7, 1781, 217, 218; begs a loan of arms, 219; to Hon. J. Powell, 220; letter to Massachusetts, 220, 221; erects a block-house at Dobb's Ferry, 221; letter to Baron Steuben, 222; on Arnold's court-martial, 222; says that the country is not supporting army, 223; the youngest brigadier in the American army, 225; to Gen. Heath, Oct. 23, 1780, 226; certifies to Col. Varick's character, 227; at West Point in 1780, 228, 229; put in 2d Massachusetts Brigade, 232; three months' pay voted him, 232; receives money, 232; ordered to keep the water-guards in readiness, 233; ordered by Washington to be ready for an attack, 233; replies to Washington's order, 242; in Gen. Lincoln's brigade, 242; left on the Hudson by Washington, 245; to Gen. Heath, 245, 249, 252, 254, 255, 260-4, 266, 267; letter to Col. Jackson, 267; on the McDougall court-martial, 269; his brigade complimented by Washington, 269; asks for a service chevron, 269; asks for a furlough, 270; to Gen. Heath, 270-2; in Gen. Heath's brigade in Gen. Howe's division, 273; appointed to the 1st Mass. Brigade, 279; to Col. Putnam, 279; signs an appeal to Congress for relief for the army, 282; ordered to West Point, in 1783, 282; letter to Gen. Knox at West Point, 282; takes command of the 1st Mass. Brigade, 290; ordered to Philadelphia, 296; president of a court-martial at Philadelphia, 299; commands West

Point, 299; commissioned as major-general in the Continental Army, 304; one of the last to leave the army, 304; his rank, 306; one of the youngest brigadier-generals, 306; reasons why he was appointed, 306; his extraordinary amount of service, 307; presents "Grippy" to Kosciusko, 308; president and vice-president of Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, 311; purchases land in Lenox, 312; subscribes to the Town House, 313; delegate from Lenox to a county convention, 313; resumes his profession as a lawyer, 313, 384; signs a petition about small-pox, 315; signs a petition about wolves, 317; commissioned as major-general of Massachusetts, 317; interest in lands in Maine, 320, 321; commands the Berkshire militia, 330; staff of, in Shays' Rebellion, 330; in Lenox convention, 343; orders out the military in Shays' Rebellion, 345; receives orders from Gen. Lincoln, Jan. 28, 1787, 358; informs Gen. Lincoln of his situation and asks help, Jan. 29, 1787, 359; asks help of Gen. Lincoln, Jan. 31, 1787, 359, 360; raises men to defend Berkshire County, 363; informs Gen. Lincoln of the situation in Berkshire, Feb. 5, 1787, first letter, 364; duplicate letter, 365; could not rely on the militia, 367; disperses the rebels from Adams and Williamstown, 368; writes to Gen. Lincoln from Sheffield, Feb. 10, 1787, 369; his part in Shays' Rebellion, 379; action after Shays' Rebellion, 383; as a business man and a lawyer, 384; marriage of his eldest daughter and of his eldest son, 384; active in military matters in Lenox, 393; his children, 395, 399; in New York Legislature, 396; offices held in New York, 396; in Congress, 397; chief-justice of Broome County, 397; his character, 398, 402, 404, 407; his death, 402; his wife's remains removed to Lenox, 402; as a lawyer and legislator, 405; record of, why lost, 406; defense of, 414; diary of, 415; unveiling the monument to,

PATERSON, JOHN.—*Continued.*

419; monument, inscription on, 446.

Maps showing his position: at Boston, Map I., 57; at Trenton, Map II., 98; at Princeton, Map III., 100; First Battle of Bemis' Heights, Map IV., 133; Second Battle of Bemis' Heights, Map V., 135; Surrender of Burgoyne, Map VI., 136; Valley Forge, Map VII., 144; Monmouth, Map VIII., 164; The Highlands, Map IX., 175.

Paterson, John Pierce, 401.

Paterson, Joseph (Gen.), lived in Lenox, 13.

Paterson, Josiah Lee, 399.

Paterson, Maria, 401.

Paterson, Mary, daughter of John (Major), 3; marries John Pierce, 410.

Paterson, Mrs., 12, 402.

Paterson, Polly, 400.

Paterson, Ruth: marries Jedediah Strong, 5; sister of John, 12; daughter of Major Paterson, 411.

Paterson, Ruth, daughter of Gen. Paterson, 401.

Paterson, Ruth (Bird); wife of Major Paterson, 3.

Paterson, Sarah, marries James Lusk, 3, 410.

Paterson, T. J. (Hon.), letter from, 403.

Paterson, William: founder of the Bank of England, 1; on Darien, 1; opinion on Sandwich Islands, 1.

Patriotism only kept the soldiers from deserting, 67-68.

Paterson, W. A., Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.

Pay, commutation of, a grievance, 336.

Paymaster, how to be nominated, 157.

Peace Commissioners of the British, not listened to, 142.

Peace: Congress to dictate terms of, 147; news of, how received by the different parties engaged, 278; preliminary treaty of, at Newburgh, 288; treaty of, 300; not joyfully looked forward to by many, 302.

Peekskill, army at, 221.

Pierce, Ebenezer, signs a petition about small-pox, 315.

Pierce, John, marries Mary Paterson, 3, 410.

Pennoyer, John, second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, asks for his commission, 67, 96.

Pennsylvania: governors of, hereditary, 15; governor of, offers a reward for the arrest of rebels, 375.

People, opinions of, declared in Congress and conventions, 39.

Petersham: Gen. Lincoln's march to, 358; Shays retreats to, 361; defeat at, broke the rebellion, 363; defeat at, described by Gen. Lincoln, 366.

Petition of officers to Congress in 1782, 253, 458.

Pettingill, Joseph, major in 1st Mass. Regiment in 1783, 285.

Phelan, Lieut., aide-de-camp to Gen. Paterson in 1783, 285, 290.

Philadelphia: tea ships sent to, 23; urges Boston not to submit, 23; sends the tea back, 24; Continental Congress at, 35, 92; Continental Congress an advisory body, 54; of no use to Gen. Howe, 149, 151; evacuation of, by the British, 152; evacuation of, equivalent to a victory, 152; attack on, decided against, 160; occupied by Arnold, 162; riots in, 294-296; mutiny in 296.

Phillips, Gen.: occupies Fort Defiance, 110; prisoner of war, on Prospect Hill, 137.

Phillips, Samuel, president of the senate, 316, 317.

Pierce, John: marries Mary Paterson, 3; Paymaster-General, 3.

Pierce, Sarah, establishes Litchfield Academy, 3.

Pitcher, Molly, 129; at Monmouth, 165.

Pitkin, Timothy, witness to Major Paterson's will, 411.

Pixley, David, Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52; deeds lands to Gen. Paterson, 312.

Plans for the summer campaign of 1778, 160.

Pocock, Admiral: sent to Martinique, 10; commands the expedition against Havana, 10.

Pollopel's Island, obstruction at, 82, 90, 129.

Poor, Brig.-Gen., at council of war at Fort Edward, 112, 113; ordered to headquarters, 117.

- Poor, Col., at Trenton, 99.
- Porter, Amos, second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, asks for his commission, 68.
- Porter, Captain, joins Col. Paterson's regiment, 55.
- Portland : burned, 67, 90 ; French reinforcements land at, 152.
- Ports : American, opened by Congress, 91 ; of the colonies to be closed, 94.
- Post riders, distance to ride, 80.
- Powder-house in Lenox made into a receiving vault, 313.
- Powell, J., Gen. Paterson to, 220.
- Powers, Nathan, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Pratt, Captain, in Col. Paterson's regiment, 53.
- President of council, Gen. Paterson's letter to, 105, 106.
- Prestige, British, Burgoyne to do something to regain, after the battle of Bennington, 118, 119.
- Priest, Job, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Princeton, advance on, 99.
- Problems to be solved at Valley Forge, 144.
- Prospect Hill : fortified by Paterson's regiment, 57 ; Col. Paterson goes into barracks on, 71.
- Provincial Congress : organized, 37 ; guilty of treason, 37 ; Gov. Gage's reply to, 37 ; supported by the towns, 41 ; the First, why dissolved, 42 ; the Second, called to assemble at Cambridge, 43 ; the Second, John Paterson to bring in a resolution relative to adjournment, 44 ; the Second, assumes the government, 48 ; delegates to the Second, summoned to return, 50 ; the Second, adjourns, 51 ; the Third, meets at Watertown, 54 ; surrenders its powers to the Continental Congress, 55 ; how to be considered, 56 ; the Third, petitioned by Col. Paterson for supplies, 61 ; neglects to send commissions, 67.
- Provost, how to be paid and equipped, 156.
- Prudential committee, Major Paterson a member of, 6.
- Public opinion known through town meetings and county conventions, 39.
- Pulaski remains in America, 160.
- Puritans : hated by Charles II., 26 ; dislike the treaty between France and the United States, 146.
- Putnam, Colonel, of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, 232.
- Putnam, Maj.-Gen. : command of, 67 ; writes to Washington, 138 ; in command of defenses at West Point, 185 ; letter to Washington about the chain, 188 ; censured for want of care of chain at West Point, 189 ; to Gen. Washington, concerning Ohio lands, June 5 and 16, 1783, 454-461.
- Quartermaster Department, inefficiency of, at Valley Forge, 145.
- Quartermaster of a regiment, how to be nominated, 157.
- Quebec, John Paterson to collect the sentiments of the people of, 43.
- Quincy, Josiah, defends the soldiers in Boston, 21.
- Quorum, name of justice of the peace, 10.
- Radière, Col., resigns, 190.
- Rations of general officers, how drawn, 283.
- Read, Seth, Lieut.-Col. in Col. Paterson's regiment, 1776, 52, 96.
- Rebellion : declaration of, 362 ; over, grievances were adjusted, 383.
- Rebels ; removed from the jury-list, 375 ; convicted, 376 ; seek aid in Canada, 377 ; reprieved and pardoned, 377 ; go to the polls, 377 ; pardon of, 379.
- Redcoat, a term of contempt, 395.
- Redress only wished by the colonists, 67.
- Regiments : how brigaded in 1776, 76 ; of Col. Paterson, how organized, 96.
- Religion, the established, of Massachusetts, 386.
- Religious intolerance, 385.
- Reports, false, circulated by the British, 195.
- Rescindors, the, 20.
- Resignations of officers in 1780, 214.
- Resolutions sent to the governor by the General Court, 37.
- Revere gives the signal for resistance, 54.
- Revolution : put an end to aristocracy in America, 15 ; demand for, not

Revolution.—*Continued.*

- unanimous, 38; an act of an overwhelming majority, 38; first seed of, 39; considered by some a mistake, 56; declared to be the intrigue of a few, 92; soldiers of, not always in uniform, 112, 113; advised by the rioters, 348.
- Rhode Island: governors of, hereditary, 15; refused to arrest the burners of the *Gaspée*, 22; renounces allegiance to the King, 60; number of men at Boston, 64.
- Rice, Nathan, major in 4th Mass. Regiment in 1783, 285.
- Richmond, Duke of: a friend of America, 147; introduces a bill for the withdrawal of all forces, 147.
- Richmont (Richmond), Lenox set off from, 14.
- Riesdel, Gen., does not surrender his flags, 136; orders his flags packed in mattresses, 136; barracks of, were on Prospect Hill, 137.
- Rights, assertion of, considered rebellious by the governors, 15.
- Rioters: in Shays' Rebellion sympathized with, 335; pardon of, considered a justification, 337; emboldened by the notice taken of them, 342; advise revolution, 348; ascribe the acts of the General Court to fear of them, 349; had always had sympathy, 381.
- Rochambeau confers with Washington in 1781, 401.
- Rockwell, Lieut.-Gov., his centennial address, 402-405.
- Ross, Betsey, makes the first flag, 107.
- Root, Gen. Erastus, goes to Washington with Gen. Paterson, 398.
- Royal commission, no one would serve on it, 50.
- Royal prerogative assumed by the governors, 15, 16.
- Royalty, insignia of, destroyed, 91.
- Sabbath, observance of, 386.
- Sabin, Zebediah, Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Salem, General Court to be held in, 36.
- Sampson, Deborah, earns a pension, 237.
- Sandwich Islands, William Paterson on, 1.
- Sanger, Jed., second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, asks for his commission, 68.
- Saratoga, surrender of, battles resulting in, how named, 135.
- Sargent, Erastus: signs a petition about small-pox, 315; surgeon-general to Gen. Paterson, 330.
- Sawyer, ensign, dispute of rank, 276.
- Sayer, Samuel, captain in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Schuyler, Major-General: sends reinforcements to Washington, 93; superseded by Gen. Gates, 106-109, 116; at council of war at Fort Edward, 112-114; ordered to headquarters, 117.
- Sea controlled by British, 78.
- Seamen, American, to be impressed, 91.
- Search-warrants resisted, 18.
- Second Massachusetts Brigade, how constituted in 1781, 232.
- Secret committee to defend the Hudson, 78.
- Sedgwick, T., aide-de-camp to Gen. Paterson, 330.
- Sermons, of what kind, 388.
- Settlers of Berkshire County, character of, 14.
- Seymour, Ira, marries Ruth Paterson, 401.
- Sewel, diary of, 198.
- Shallock, Sergt., pardon asked for, 217.
- Shaw, B., Lieut. in 3d Massachusetts Brigade, 143.
- Shaw, Lieut., appointment of, 214.
- Shays, Daniel: heads the insurgents at Northampton, 342; his character, 347; sends a letter advising the arming of the towns, 348; goes to Rutland, 349, 351; collects one thousand men, 351; promises to accept pardon, 351; takes possession of the court-house at Springfield, 351; asks Day to co-operate with him, 354; attacks Gen. Shepard at Springfield and is routed, 355; his attack on Springfield might have been successful but for his want of knowledge, 355; ordered to surrender by Gen. Lincoln, 356; sends a petition to the General Court which is a threat, and is not received, 357; goes to Petersham, 357; not to be

- Shays, Daniel.—*Continued.*
 pardoned, 376; begs pardon and is prohibited from holding any office, 380.
- Shays' Rebellion, 331; causes of, 331; danger from, 381; did not originate in dissatisfaction with the government, 381; the means of cementing the Union, 382.
- Sheffield: was in Hampshire County up to 1761, 33; small-pox hospital at, 86; attack on, 373.
- Shepard, General: ordered to take possession of Springfield, 352; intercepts Day's letter to Shays, 344; attacks Shays and routs him, 355.
- Ships and cargoes, American, to be confiscated, 91.
- Shoes, perishing for want of transportation of, at Valley Forge, 145.
- Shurtleiff, Robt., assumed name of Deborah Sampson, 236.
- Signals: alarm, how given, 73; cannon used for, 79; beacons used for, 79; along Hudson River, 79; flags used for, 80; Washington's plan for, 80; of Lord Sterling, 81; of McDougall, 81.
- Skinner, Thompson Joseph, interest in lands in Maine, 321.
- Sloan, Samuel, captain in Col. Paterson's regiment, 96.
- Sloop *Liberty* seized, 20.
- Smalley, Dr.: friend of Gen. Paterson, 12; marries Gen. Paterson, 12.
- Small-pox: ravages the American army, 85; inoculation against, 85; petition about inoculation, 315.
- Smith, Ebenezer, witness to Major Paterson's will, 411.
- Smith, Hezekiah: reports after Ticonderoga, 114; letter of, 115.
- Smith, Simeon, Lieut. in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Social life, 390.
- Soldiers: British, scandalize the people, 21; could not always get redress, 67, 68; of Burgoyne, removed to Virginia, 138; of Burgoyne, removed from Boston to Rutland, 138; determined but not always uniformed, 154; of the Revolution without display, 154.
- Solemn League and Covenant, 32.
- Sons of Liberty: formed to resist the Stamp Act, 19; propose a Continental Congress, 30.
- Sorel River, chain at, 126.
- Sorel, troops from, to be sent to Montreal, 86.
- Spain and France: give money for the war, 305; and Holland, money borrowed from, 305.
- Spain declares war against England, 196.
- Specific supplies depended on in 1780, 205.
- Springfield: session of the courts prevented at, 342, 347, 350; arsenal to be attacked, 347; court-house taken possession of by Shays, 351.
- Sprout, Colonel, of the 2d Massachusetts Regiment, 232.
- St. Clair, General: at Princeton, 99; at council of war at Fort Edward, 112-114; censured for the fall of Ticonderoga, 114; ordered to new headquarters, 116.
- St. John's: surrenders to the Americans, 92; surrenders to the British, 92.
- St. Leger: to come down the Mohawk valley, 109; and Burgoyne receive unconditional orders, 109; defeated, 109; Burgoyne to help, 118; ordered to take Fort Stanwix, 122.
- Staff officers, absent Dec. 21, 1782, 283; absent in 1783, 286.
- Stamp Act, 18; passed in 1765, 18; defied in Virginia first, 18; how received, 18; general congress called to protest against, 18; Patrick Henry on, 18; resisted by Sons of Liberty, 19; repealed, joy about, 19.
- Standing army: a large one not possible, 149; disliked, 149.
- Stark, Colonel, at Bennington, 118.
- State debt shown to be reasonable, 349.
- States, the, their part of the debt, 305.
- Statesmen formed by public assemblies, 40.
- Statue of King George melted down, 91.
- Sterling, Lord: signals of, 80; at Princeton, 99; letter of, 266.
- Steuben, Baron: at Valley Forge, 146; turns Valley Forge into a military school, 146; tactics of, 149;

- Steuben, Baron.—*Continued.*
 prepares a book on tactics, 149; reforms the men at Monmouth, 164; letter from Gen. Paterson, 222.
- Stevens, Samuel, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 96.
- Stillwater: Col. Paterson ordered to, 93; American army intrenched at, 132.
- Stinson, John, signs a petition about wolves, 317.
- Stockbridge: convention at, 32; pillaged by Perez Hamlin, 373.
- Stockbridge Indians: John Paterson to draft an address to, 44; address to, 44; enlist a full company, 45; speech of chief of, 45; ask to have their money taken care of, 46.
- Stockings, perishing for want of transportation of, at Valley Forge, 145.
- Stoddard, Orange, Lieut., in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
- Stony Point stormed, 199.
- Strong, Captain, in Col. Paterson's regiment, 53.
- Strong, Jedediah, marries Ruth Paterson, 5.
- Suffolk County convention, 35.
- Sugar, value of, in 1780, 229.
- Suits, civil, number of, 336.
- Sullivan, Ebenezer, captain in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Supplies, prices of, in 1780 in Boston, 229.
- Surrender: of Burgoyne, Congress refuses to ratify part of it, 137; of Cornwallis, 277.
- Talcott, Joseph, governor of Connecticut colony, 1.
- Talcott, Mary, widow of Samuel, 1.
- Talcott, Samuel: first husband of Mrs. James Paterson, 1; cousin of Mary Talcott, 1.
- Taunton, courts prevented from sitting in, 344.
- Tax: on tea in 1767, 19; to support the established religion, 386, 387.
- Taxation: without consent refused, 17; by the lords, 18; without representation refused, 18; without representation resisted in Berkshire County, 28.
- Taxes: refused to the governor's treasurer, 35; oppressive in 1786, 332; made payable in specific articles, 349.
- Taxing the colonies renounced by Parliament, 136.
- Taylor, Daniel, signs a petition about small-pox, 315.
- Tea: tax on, in 1767, 19; must not be landed, 24; in Charleston spoiled, 24; sent back from Philadelphia, 24; value of, in 1780, 229.
- Tea ships: sent out to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, 23; consignees asked to resign, 23; arrive in Boston, 23.
- Tea tax: resistance to, misrepresented by Gov. Bernard, 19; petition against, received by George III. with contempt, 19; legislatures to be suspended for resistance to, 19; resisted in all the colonies, 19.
- Temple of Virtue, 270.
- Ten Broeck, Brig.-Gen., at council of war at Fort Edward, 112, 113.
- Text and synopsis of sermons demanded of children, 388.
- Thanks given at Valley Forge for the arrival of French reinforcements, 152.
- Thompson, J., Lieut.-Col. in 10th Massachusetts Regiment, 143.
- Ticonderoga: captured, 54; garrisoned, 67; cannon from, sent to Boston, 71; surrenders to the Americans, 54, 92; letter of Gen. Paterson from, 105; letter of Asa Douglas from, 106; poorly prepared for an attack, 109; attacked by Burgoyne, 109; council of war at, 110; a trap, 111; evacuated, 111-114; fall of, Gates censured for, 114; fall of, St. Clair censured for, 114; surrender of, a great shock, 116; surrender of, investigated by Congress, 116; Burgoyne obliged to abandon, 116; surrender of, received with joy in England, 119; recaptured by Americans, 132.
- Tilghman's, Tench, indorsement of Morse, 141.
- Time, method of recording, in the last century, 1.
- Tioga County represented in Congress by Gen. Paterson, 397.
- Town meetings: privilege of, granted, 16; granting of, given up, 16; forbidden, 26; a safety-valve of public opinion, 39; of Lenox called in the name of Massachusetts Bay, 44.

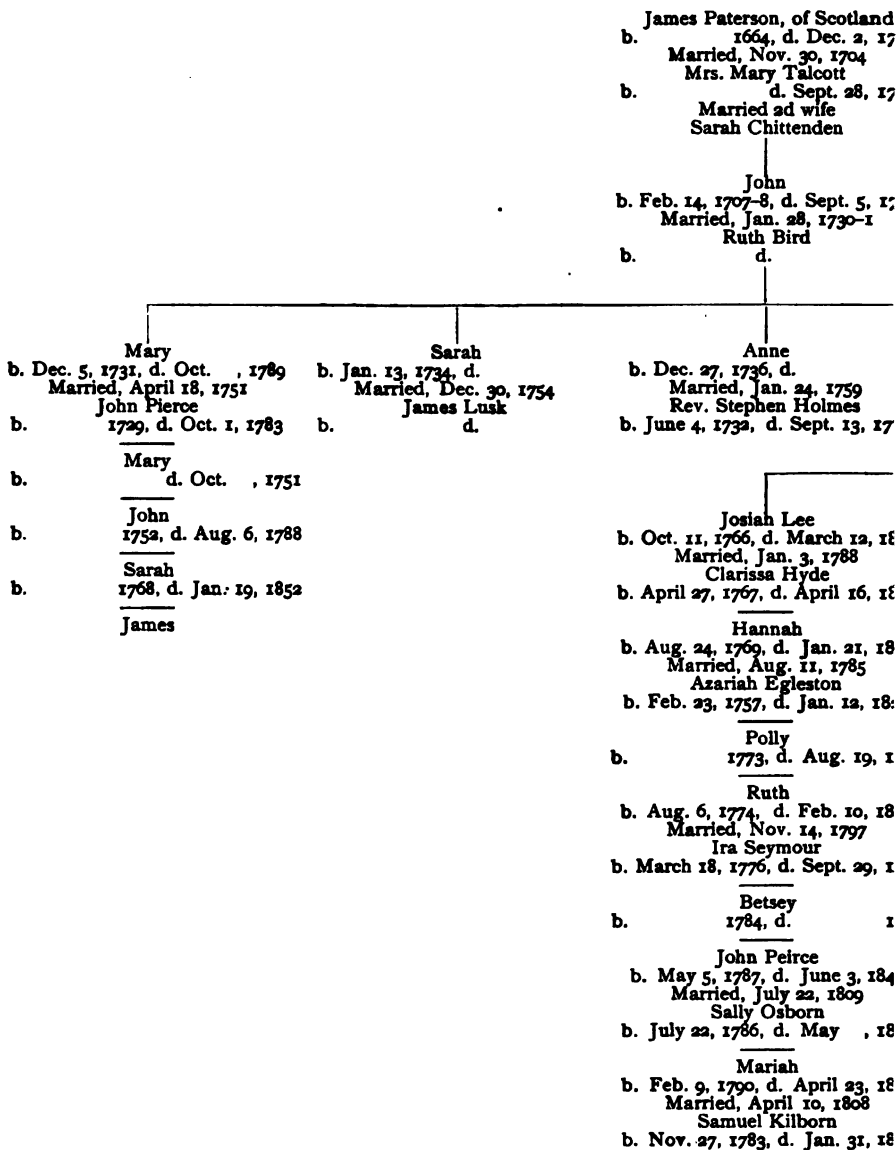
- Towns : support the Provincial Congress, 41 ; careful to be represented in the congresses and conventions, 49 ; twenty, ask for pardon, 368.
- Townsmen same as selectman, 1.
- Trade, Lords of, governed colonies since 1675, 15.
- Trade to bear the burden of taxation, land to be free, 339.
- Train bands not regarded with suspicion, 41.
- Traitors made by discouragement, 98.
- Traston, Joshua, second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
- Treason committed by the members of the Provincial Congress, 37.
- Treason of Arnold, 222, etc.
- Treaty : between France and the United States, 146 ; of peace, 300.
- Trenton, battle of, 98.
- Troops : sent to Boston, 19, 20 ; quarters for, refused, 20 ; encamped on Boston Common, 20 ; march to Boston on a false rumor, 31 ; German (Hessian), hired to go to Massachusetts, 90 ; try to frighten Congress, 231.
- Tryon, Governor : expects to go to Albany, 128 ; publishes the conciliatory bills, 147.
- Tubbs, S., major in 14th Mass. Regiment, 143.
- Tucker, Hon. Judge Joseph : his record, 425 ; his speech at the unveiling of the monument, 426.
- Tupper, B. : Col. in 3d Mass. Brigade, 143 ; Col. in 11th Mass. Brigade, 143 ; Col. in Paterson's brigade, 168.
- Uniform of Revolutionary soldiers, 154.
- Uniforms scarce, 154.
- United States and France, treaty of, 146.
- Upham, James, interest in lands in Maine, 321.
- Upham, Phineas, interest in lands in Maine, 321.
- Valley Forge : Gen. Paterson at, 144 ; memorable for inefficiency and mismanagement of Congress, 148 ; memorable for the cabals against Washington, 148 ; misery of, result of mismanagement, 149 ; news of the arrival of the French reinforcements at Portland, 152 ; reverent thanksgiving at, 152 ; Washington left, to pursue Gen. Clinton, 162.
- Values, fall of, 97.
- Varick, Colonel : certificate of Gen. Paterson, 227 ; defended by Gen. Paterson, 227.
- Varnum, Gen., letter of, 159.
- Ventilation in houses excellent, 392.
- Vermont, governor of, issues a proclamation against the rebels, 375.
- Vermont troops come to Bennington, 118.
- Verplank's Point, British land at, 127.
- Village : choir, 391 ; life, 392.
- Virginia : first defied the Stamp Act, 18 ; proposes an annual congress, 31 ; Assembly of, dissolved by the governor, 31 ; instructs her delegates to vote for independence, 84.
- Vose, Elijah, Lieut.-Col. of 1st Mass. Regiment in 1783, 285, 299.
- Vose, Joseph : made colonel of Paterson's regiment, 101 ; takes the place made vacant by the promotion of Col. Paterson, 104 ; colonel in 1st Mass. Regiment in 1783, 285, 299.
- Walker, Wm. : adjutant in Col. Paterson's regiment, asks for his commission, 68 ; petition of, 68.
- War : it was supposed would be short, 64, 97 ; close of, 301 ; cost of, 305.
- Ward, Gen. Artemas : orders Col. Paterson to defend Fort No. 3, 57 ; gives the order of reinforcement at Bunker Hill too late, 58 ; fears an attack on Cambridge, 59 ; by courtesy commander-in-chief, 63 ; letter for Gen. Paterson, 103.
- Warren, Col., in Gen. Paterson's brigade, 143.
- Warren, Joseph : addresses the Boston town meeting, 50 ; speaker of the House, appoints Joseph Vose in the place of Col. Paterson, promoted, 104.
- Washington, General : attends the services on June 1, 1774, 29 ; appointed general and commander-in-chief, 64 ; to make an army out of raw recruits, 64 ; not convinced that independence was necessary, 65 ; orders Col. Paterson to remain at Fort No. 3, 67 ; takes command of the army, 69 ; compliments Col. Paterson's regiment, 69 ; in a central situation at Cambridge, 69 ; letter

- Washington, General.—*Continued.*
 to Lord Sterling, 73; sends four battalions to Canada, 82; raises first and second flags, 92; in New Jersey, reinforced by Massachusetts troops, 93; foils Howe in New Jersey, 109, 110; ordered not to recall the generals, 117; letter to Maj.-Gen. Paterson, 140; Gen. Paterson's letter to, 142; orders Gen. Paterson to fortify the left wing at Valley Forge, 146; cabals against, 148; faith in, by the people, 148; reports the want of supplies, 149; describes the bad condition of the army, 149; orders all to be ready for a sudden movement, 161; pursues Gen. Clinton, 162; description of the forces after two years, 196; orders Gen. Paterson to be in readiness for an attack, 233; letter to Gen. Paterson, 234; confers with Rochambeau, 242; starts for Yorktown, 242; letter to Gen. Heath, 260, 265; letter of, to Secretary of War, 274; calls a meeting of the officers on account of Newburgh letters, 293; conclusion of his address at the Newburgh meeting, 294; extract from his proclamation, 301; writes to Congress about soldiers' land petition, June 17, 1783, 458; reply to Gen. Putnam's letter about Ohio lands, June 2, 1784, 461, 462.
 Washington, Berkshire Co., rebels march on, 368.
 Waterman, Sergt., pardon asked for, 207.
 Watertown Congress, letter of Col. Paterson to, 53.
 Watertown, Third Provincial Congress meets at, 54.
 Watkins, Captain, in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
 Wayne attacked by Clinton at Monmouth, 164.
 Webb, S. B., complaint of, 244.
 Webster on the progress of the United States, 405.
 Welch, Joseph, first lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
 West Point: obstruction at, 82; Gen. Gates commands at, 160; chosen by New York to fortify, 160; Gen. McDougall commands at, 160, fortified by Gen. Kosciusko, 160; commanded by Gen. Paterson, 175, 299; width of Hudson River at, 182; Gen. Washington's letter about, 183; chain at, contract for, 187; what we owe to, 193, 194; orders at, 199, 200; without supplies for a fortnight in 1780, 205; distress at, 205-208; capture of, would have been a triumph to Sir H. Clinton, 222; Gen. Paterson in command at, 240.
 West Springfield in possession of Day, 352.
 West Stockbridge, rebels assemble at, and fight there, 368.
 Wethersfield: Patersons settle in, 1; John Paterson (1st) lived in, 5.
 Wheeler not to be pardoned, 376.
 White, Peter: ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52; first lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment in 1776, 96.
 White Plains, army moves to, after the battle of Monmouth, 167.
 Whitmarsh, Gen. Paterson at, 140.
 Wilcocks, Samuel, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
 Wiley, J., major in 14th Mass. Regiment, 143.
 Wilkins, Wm., second lieutenant in Col. Paterson's regiment, asks for his commission, 68.
 Wilkinson, Gen., letter of, 114.
 Wilkinson, James, deputy adjutant-general, reports on the retreat at Ticonderoga, 113, 114.
 William and Mary grant a new charter, 27.
 Williams, Captain, in Col. Paterson's Regiment, 52.
 Williams, Ebenezer, deputy-adjutant-general to Gen. Paterson, 330.
 Williams, John, signs a petition about wolves, 316.
 Williamstown and Adams, Gen. Paterson disperses rebels from, 368.
 Winslow, a major in 10th Mass. Regiment, 143.
 Winthrop, Gov. John: has the charter of the colonies, 27; does not surrender the charter, 27.
 Wolves, petition for killing them, 316.
 Women of the Revolution heroines, 94, 95.
 Woodbridge, a major in 10th Mass. Regiment, 143.

- Woodbridge, Enoch, adjutant in Col. Paterson's regiment, 152.
Woodford's, Gen., brigade, 168.
Worcester : Congress, 30 ; prevents the opening of the court, 35 ; county convention at Leicester, 341 ; court at, prevented, 344, 350 ; convention called at, 349 ; the governor advises the courts to adjourn, 350 ; County, rebels attack citizens in, 370.
- Wright, Josiah, ensign in Col. Paterson's regiment, 52.
Writs of assistance issued, 11.
Wrong-doing not entirely British, 62.
Wyman, Wm., captain in Col. Paterson's regiment, 59, 96.
Wyoming, massacre of, 166.
Yorktown, Washington starts for, 244.

PLATE I.

PATERSON GENEALC



750

712

762

	Ruth		John
	b. June 16, 1739, d. Oct. 3, 1777	b.	1744, d. July 19, 1808
	Married, April 7, 1774		Married, June 2, 1766
	Jedediah Strong		Elizabeth Lee
73	b. 1738, d. Aug. 21, 1802	b.	1749, d. July 8, 1841

146

137

03

28

790

42

866

784

2

47

165

162

Josiah Lee Patel
b. Oct. 11, 1766, d. Mar
Married Jan. 3, 1
Clarissa Hyd
b. April 27, 1767, d. Ap

Elizabeth
b. June 13, 1796, d. Dec. 14, 1882
Married
1, 1880

Frederick William
b. June 10, 1809, d. Feb. 11, 1882
Married, Sept. 15, 1834
1st wife, Louisa Margaret Taft
b. April 7, 1801, d. Dec. 9, 1839
Married, Jan. 15, 1846
2d wife, Louisa Maria Peck
b. May 6, 1820, d.

Lewis Augustus
b. Oct. 10, 1835

1, 1884

1865

1, 1838

1862

PLAT

ra Belden 1810, d. Sept. , 1812	George d.	Harriet Elizabeth b. April 15, 1817
------------------------------------	--------------	--

Harriet Em
b. Dec. 20, 1
ried Dec. 24
Reynolds Alvord
b. July 7, 1865, d. Dec. 31, 1868

Harold B. um Warren
b. 1862, d. J 68

Harry Tobal Brainard
12, 1864, d. 70

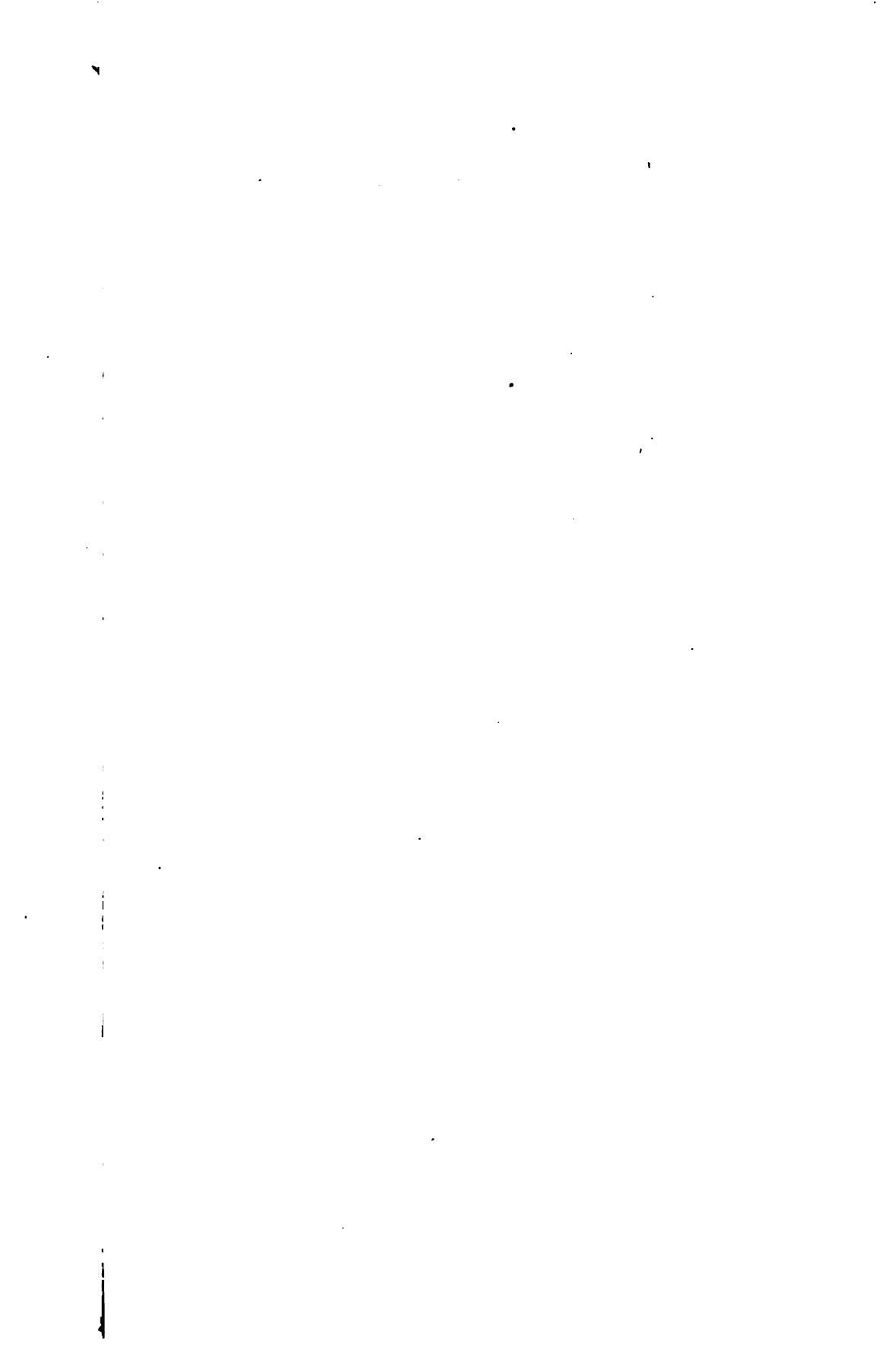
Edward Brohas Alvord
Robert Seym 1872
25, 1866, d.

b. Oct.

b. Sept

b. Nov,

b. Oct.



1

